LUTE REALIZATIONS FOR THE ENGLISH CAVALIER SONGS (1630-1670):
A GUIDE FOR PERFORMERS

BY

GUS DENHARD

Submitted to the faculty of the
School of Music in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Music,
Indiana University
May, 2006
Copyright Gus Denhard ©2006
Accepted by the faculty of the School of Music,

Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Music.

________________________________
Elisabeth Wright, Research Director

________________________________
Nigel North, Chairperson

________________________________
Massimo Ossi

________________________________
Wendy Gillespie
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Examples</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I – Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II – The Intabulated Lute Accompaniments to</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Cavalier Songs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III – The English Continuo Writings by Matthew Locke and Thomas Mace and their Application to the English Cavalier Songs</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV – Examples of Cavalier Song Lute Realizations</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected Bibliography</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Examples

Chapter I

1.1, lute tuning 5

Chapter II

2.1, *Dear, do not your fair beauty*, Robert Johnson, p. xli, mm. 1-5 16
2.2, *Cloris sighte, and sange, and wepte*, Alphonso Bales?, p. lii, mm. 1-5 18
2.3, *Eyes gaze no more*, Anonymous, f. 6v, mm. 9-17 21
2.4, other cadence figures in Bodleian f.575 23
2.5, *Shall I despaire of my resolved intent*, Anonymous, p. 98 25
2.6, *Peace, peace, you lowde violins*, Anonymous, ff. 19v-20, mm 1-9 29
2.7, Re-entrant tuning of the first course 32
2.8, Higher positions on the second string instead of using the first string 33
2.9, 12-course tuning with first course octaves 33
2.10, *No, no, I will sooner trust*, John Wilson, f. 142v, mm. 11-16 35
2.11, *Thou greate and good*, John Wilson, f. 147r, mm. 15-16 36
2.12, *Foolish lover, goe*, Anonymous, f. 140r, mm. 8-15 38
2.13, *Epode 2*, John Wilson, ff. 191v-195r, part 1, mm. 75-79 39
2.14, *Wake my Adonis*, Charles Coleman, p. 26, mm. 41-46 40
2.15, *Stay fairest Clarissa*, John Wilson, ff. 140v-142r, mm. 21-23 42
2.15A, *Thus dark sett of my light*, John Wilson, ff. 157r-158r, mm. 47-48 44
2.15B, *The wound love gave me*, John Wilson, ff.174v-175v, m. 46 44
List of Musical Examples (continued)

2.15C, *Tu ne quaesieris*, John Wilson, ff. 203r-203v, mm. 27-28

2.16, *I am confirmed in my belief*, John Wilson, f. 145r, mm. 10-16

2.17A, *Fantasia* from Suite No. 1 in G Minor, William Lawes,

   p. 1, mm. 1-8, in *Musica Britannica*, vol. 60 ed. David Pinto,

   Stainer and Bell, 1991

2.17B, *Silly hart, forbeare*, John Wilson, p. 72

2.18, *I saw my Lady weep*, John Dowland, p. 1, mm. 1-6

2.19, *Je ne cognois que trop*, Michel Lambert, ff 9v, 11r-11v, mm, 1-9

2.20, *O mia Fili gradita*, Anonymous, f. 53v, mm. 1-6

2.21, *O mia fili gradita*, Anonymous, mm. 16-17

2.22, *Goe thy way since thou will goe*, Anonymous, p. 5, mm. 1-5

2.23, *Beate on proud billows; Boreas, blow!*, Anonymous, f. 6v-7

2.24, *I’m sick of love*, William Lawes, ff. 6v-7r, mm. 1-4

2.25, *Je ne puis éviter*, François de Chancy, ff. 4v-5r, mm.12-15

2.26, *Oft have I sworn*, Henry Lawes, ff 7v-8r, mm. 15-17

2.27, *How cool and temp’rate*, Henry Lawes, ff. 5v-6r, mm. 1-3

2.28, *Fuggi, fuggi, fuggi, diletta amante*, Anonymous, f. 4r, mm 5-6

**Chapter III**

3.1, Examples from “Precepts in the Rules for Playing in a Continued Base,”

   Matthew Locke, *Melothesia*, pp.10-11
List of Musical Examples (continued)

3.2, Examples from “Precepts in the Rules for Playing in a Continued Base,”
Matthew Locke, Melothesia, p.10, mm. 3-6 90

3.3, Examples of Transition, Matthew Locke, Melothesia, pp.11 93

3.4A, Thomas Mace, p. 227, Cadences in G major 98

3.4B, Thomas Mace, p 228, Stepwise ascending and descending basses 99

3.4C, Thomas Mace, p. 228, Stepwise ascending and descending basses with implied harmony 101

3.4D, Thomas Mace, p. 229, Sequence descending a 3rd and rising a step 102

3.5, Thomas Mace, p. 222-24, Examples from the twenty-one cadential variations 104

3.6, Thomas Mace, “Breaking your parts,” complex version, pp. 228-29 109

3.7, A summary of the harmonic language of Locke and Mace 113

3.8, Summary of elements of style in Mace 115

Chapter IV

4.1, A Forlorn Lovers Complaint, Robert Johnson,
Select Ayres and Dialogues, p. 13 121

4.2, Discontent, John Wilson, Select Ayres and Dialogues, p.29 126

4.3, Venus lamenting her lost Adonis, Charles Coleman,
Select Ayres and Dialogues, pp. 4-5 132

4.4, Facsimile title page and songs from Select Ayres and Dialogues 140
Chapter I - Introduction

With the growth and popularization of lute continuo over the past two decades, it seems appropriate to devote some research to the details of stylistic continuo interpretation of various genres. The cavalier songs of 1630-1670 are worthy of this attention as a relatively rarely performed and sometimes misunderstood repertory. The term “cavalier” is a reference to the cavalier poets John Donne, Ben Johnson, Thomas Carew, and their contemporaries, whose works inspired the composers of their age. They were men of the court and royalists, and their generally light and forthright verses were a last flowering of aristocratic self-confidence before the dark days of the Civil War.

It should be mentioned at the outset that this study is meant to be of use primarily to lute players. While keyboardists may find much of it useful, they may want to be wary of imitating the lute idiom, since many rules of voice leading that would apply to the keyboard are set aside. Many decisions in lute accompaniment are based on the very specific requirements of the instrument and its playing technique, and it would be wrong to imitate them verbatim on keyboard. Keyboardists who borrow this repertory may want to use the stylistic elements suggested in this work but create their own realizations that follow the rules of counterpoint laid out in the period treatises intended for keyboard.

The dates picked for the study are somewhat arbitrary; they are meant to encapsulate the English solo song repertory between the end of the Golden Age lute song for which lute accompaniments were generally intabulated and the second wave of French and Italian influenced song that arrived at the English court with Charles II’s restoration to the throne in 1660. The literary significance of the cavalier song poetry, as well as the
historical and biographical details of the poets, composers, and singers, will be left to other writers; this work will concentrate on the challenges and questions that the cavalier songs present to lute accompanists.¹ After a brief explanation in this first chapter of the instruments, sources, and history leading up to the period of basso continuo practice in England, Chapter II will analyze eight manuscripts with intabulated song accompaniments to identify elements of performance style and, to a lesser extent, harmonic language, and provide some ground rules that can be applied loosely for creating lute accompaniments. Chapter III will examine two writings on continuo practice from the period that address primarily the issue of harmony, with supplementary information on performance style. Chapter IV will present several fully realized accompaniments that apply the concepts gleaned in Chapters II and III.

The choice of the type of continuo lute – its size, range, and tuning – has a dramatic effect on the sound of the accompaniment and the stylistic vocabulary available to the player. However, modern lutenists have, for the most part, made somewhat limited choices regarding the instruments used in continuo playing and have applied these choices more or less universally to every genre that they play. The reasons for this are understandable. Professional performers in our time are expected to play music from many different periods over the course of a season, and it would be difficult and expensive to own, maintain, and practice the large number of instruments that would be appropriate for each nationality, epoch, and genre. Modern continuo players tend to concentrate on two instruments: the mid- to large-size Italian theorbo with the first and second courses in re-entrant tuning (down an octave from the usual Renaissance lute pattern), and the archlute. This combination is fairly flexible, as the instruments are

tuned a tone apart, in A and G respectively, and thus easily cover a wide range of keys. Due to their long bass extensions, they are also the loudest of the known continuo lutes, allowing players to be heard in an orchestra, the bread and butter of modern continuo work. They are a logical choice for a lutenist seeking the widest range of musical possibilities for the job at hand, but by themselves they cannot address every musical situation. In the case of the cavalier songs, recent research has revealed that these two instruments were little known in England during the early and middle seventeenth century, and that other instruments were used in their place.

Separate from the choice of instrument is the issue of harmony, which is often ambiguous in the unfigured or partially figured basses of the cavalier song repertory. Continuo accompaniments by definition are not realized; the premise was that a competent and stylistically informed player would supply a realization from a simple bass line. In seventeenth-century song, the bass lines of the French *air de cour*, Italian monody, and English cavalier song all share some characteristics and developed at approximately the same time. It would be expedient and in some ways logical for a player to use the same approach to harmony in all three styles. There are, however, primary sources on continuo playing specific to the cavalier songs that can be used to establish boundaries for the harmonic language of the realization – the most notable and pertinent to this study being Matthew Locke’s *Melothesia* and Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument*, both of which will be examined in chapter III.

While many harmonic choices are clear, there is little implied by the cavalier song bass lines that can help the player choose from among the many stylistic possibilities for accompaniment of which the lute instruments are capable. In the case of the cavalier song there is a large body of intabulated accompaniments that show a highly developed, and in
many cases consistent, style that often runs counter to the instincts many of us have developed by accompanying Italian music on the theorbo or archlute. These intabulated accompaniments run the gamut from amateur and technically limited attempts by students to masterful realizations by self-accompanied song composers like John Wilson and Charles Coleman. In addition, Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* demonstrates an elaborate, virtuosic approach to the theorbo that may apply to song accompaniment style. These sources offer a wealth of possibilities for the development of a historically stylistic approach to accompanying the cavalier songs.

**The continuo lutes for the cavalier songs**

Several writers have addressed the confusion of nomenclature for continuo lutes with multiple pegboxes, most notably Robert Spenser, whose *Chitarrone, Theorbo, and Archlute* was the first and most complete attempt. More recently, Lynda Sayce and Matthew Spring reexamined the subject of the continuo lutes that were used in England throughout the period covered in this study, and their findings will be the basis for what is summarized below. Sayce listed the manuscripts of the cavalier songs with intabulated lute parts, along with examples showing the ranges and tunings of the lutes that would most likely have been used to realize the tablature. She identified the three basic types of lutes: the 10-course Renaissance lute, the 12-course double-headed French lute, and the English theorbo with twelve or more courses. She then associated each instrument with the intabulated song manuscripts that seemed to fit their range and stringing, observing that in general the 10-course lute was employed at the beginning of the period as a holdover from the Golden Age lute song tradition, that the 12-course lute became popular.

---

between 1620 and 1630 after being introduced from France, and that the English theorbo came into use around mid-century. The instruments are tuned in the following manner:

Example 1.1, lute tuning

10-course lute:

12-course lute:

English theorbo:

The manuscripts are assigned by her to the various instruments as follows:³

A. 10-course lute

1. New York Public Library Drexel MS 4175 (Ann Twice, Her Book)

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. f.575

Sayce made her assessments concerning appropriate lutes for each manuscript based on two criteria: 1) the range (in number of courses) used in the intabulations, and 2) whether the top string of the instrument was tuned in the normal fashion of Renaissance lute tuning or was tuned down an octave, the so-called re-entrant tuning. Other pieces of evidence that both she and Matthew Spring bring into the discussion are the many English paintings of lutenists with their instruments and written descriptions of lutes from a number of period sources. They reach several important conclusions, the most significant of which is that the words “theorbo” or “theorbo-lute” are used indiscriminately and could have referred to any member of the lute family in Renaissance tuning with any arrangement of courses, re-entrant or not. In England, “theorbo” seems to have been a general term used to refer to a lute in some form of Renaissance tuning used for accompaniment, rather than a lute for solo pieces that was possibly tuned to one of the new interval patterns made popular in France near the beginning of the seventeenth century. They further confirm that the 12-course double-headed lute in Renaissance tuning without a re-entrant top string was extremely popular throughout the cavalier song
period and was perhaps the continuo instrument of choice for much of the century. The number of intabulated songs that imply the use of the English theorbo with a single re-entrant course is not extensive, and they seem to appear later in the century, indicating that this instrument may not have been as ubiquitous as was thought until recently.

None of these conclusions can be proven to the point of being able to say that certain composers’ works should only be played on a particular instrument. Manuscripts may not always employ all of the courses contained on an instrument that could have been used, and they are sometimes ambiguous about the tuning of the top string; some passages implying Renaissance tuning and others re-entrant. However, the significance of their conclusions is that they point to a variety of available instruments and imply that the non-re-entrant, smaller lutes probably had a larger function in continuo playing than previously supposed. The implication for modern players is that they need to explore all three instruments. Of the suggested instruments, only the 10-course Renaissance lute is commonly used by present day continuo players. Neither of the two instruments commonly used today – the 14-course Italian theorbo with two re-entrant courses or the 14-course archlute – found much favor in England during the period under discussion. The Italian theorbo made an early appearance there, but it did not seem to achieve much popularity, and the archlute was not used in England until the end of the century.
The size of the cavalier song repertory, sources used and omitted

The cavalier song repertory is large, with over fifteen hundred songs in almost forty manuscripts and at least sixteen prints containing several hundred more. While many of the manuscripts present the songs anonymously, the prints attribute the songs to a long list of composers who are little known as of this writing, together with the most famous and in some cases the most prolific, such as Robert Johnson, Nicholas Lanier, John Wilson, Charles Coleman, and William and Henry Lawes. The lesser composers include names like Walter Porter, William Child, John Gamble, William King, Robert King, and many more. These men worked and composed for the stage, court, and private houses; they ranged in the social strata from courtiers and diplomats to wealthy amateurs, churchmen, and singing actors. Court pay records indicate that many of them both played the lute and sang, so it can be assumed that they performed their own songs to their own accompaniment.

Of the primary sources available, several were deemed to be outside the topic area and were omitted from the study. In Chapter II, the comparative analysis of the manuscripts of songs with intabulated accompaniments, two manuscripts were omitted: London, British Library Additional Ms. 15117 and Tokyo, Nanki Music Library Nanki n-4/42 (c.1690-1720). The former has been dated between 1614 and 1616 and is too early for this study, containing mostly Elizabethan lute solos and lute songs by Diomedes Cato, Dowland, Morley, and Jones, along with a song to the viol by Hume. The Nanki

---

5 Ibid., p. 325
manuscript refers to music from a much later period. Detailed descriptions of all the intabulated song manuscripts will follow later, and they have been studied in depth by Lynda Sayce and Matthew Spring.

In addition to manuscripts with intabulated accompaniments, there is elaborate figuration in mensural notation added in a period hand to five songs in five consecutive volumes of Henry Playford’s *Banquet of Music* (1688-91) but, again, these contain later composers such as Robert King, Henry Purcell, and John Blow. They are interesting for their sheer virtuosity, and their range indicates they may have been intended for a lute, but they lie well outside this study, belonging to the post-restoration period.\(^7\)

Of the seventeenth-century English writings on continuo practice, only Matthew Locke’s *Melothesia* and Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* fall squarely within the tradition of the cavalier song composers and are included in chapter III, the study of continuo writings. Although both works were probably written in the 1670s, they look back to the era of the cavalier song, as that chapter’s introduction will explain. Other very important works fall just outside this topic and were excluded. John Blow’s small treatise in British Museum Add. 34072, ff.1-5 was probably written around the time of *Melothesia*. While it contains all of Locke’s harmonic language as a subset, it also looks forward to the new French and Italian styles that arrived with the return of the monarchy of Charles II, detailing chord progressions that for the most part do not apply to the cavalier songs. *The False Consonances of Musick* (1682) by Nicola Matteis is a continuo method for the guitar, and like Blow’s treatise, it deals with a harmonic language that postdates the cavalier songs. It resides completely in the idiom of the guitar with little application to lute style. Also omitted was Glasgow University Library (Euing Ms. R.D.

43), a period lutenist’s transcription of parts of Matteis’ guitar treatise. Finally, one should be aware of John Playford’s *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, which was printed in fourteen editions from 1653 to 1730. While the earlier editions have some relevance to the world of the cavalier song, they provide little specific insight into lute accompaniment practice.

**Background to English song accompaniment**

By the early 1600s, the practice of basso continuo on lute, theorbo, and other instruments was already firmly established in Italy. Writings on continuo practice by Viadana, Agazzari, Banchieri, and Bianciardi, as well as compositions using figured and unfigured bass notation by Peri, Caccini, Cavalieri, and many others indicate the existence of a tradition that had its beginnings in the previous century. The treatises show musicians’ desire to learn and perfect continuo playing, while the many published compositions using basso continuo notation reflect the fluency that performers had achieved. Between 1600 and 1630, over 130 collections of secular vocal music were published in Italy with continuo intended for chitarrone.\(^8\)

Despite the fact that some English musicians such as Martin Peerson and Richard Deering traveled to Italy in the first decade of the seventeenth century, acceptance of the basso continuo and the new vocal style that it was designed to enhance came much later to England. The school of English lute song was still flourishing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, preserving a compositional practice drawn from the Italian madrigal style of the mid-sixteenth century that had been transplanted to England by way of publications such as *Musica Transalpina* and by musicians who traveled to Italy, John

---

Dowland being a prominent example.⁹ Evidence of the popularity of this older style can easily be seen in John Dowland’s *First Book of Songs*, which was printed first in 1597 and then reprinted in 1600, 1603, 1606, and 1613. This book was laid out in table format so the songs could be performed either by solo singer and lute or by up to four singers or instrumentalists. The intabulated lute part was a short score of the three lower vocal parts, preserving the counterpoint of the four-part vocal original whenever possible. Although John Dowland’s son Robert decided to dispense with the three lower vocal parts in his song collection *A Musical Banquet* (1610), and although Golden Age lute composers including John Dowland eventually experimented with a more declamatory vocal style, lute accompaniments up through the 1620s were generally intabulated and had a contrapuntal texture to varying degrees.

Two English writings on music from this period discuss composed song accompaniment but do not mention continuo practice. Thomas Morley’s *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597 and 1608) is written to teach the late-Renaissance compositional style of the book’s dedicatee, William Byrd. Morley’s discussion of descant tells us a great deal about his viewpoint as a theorist:

The name of descant is usurped of the musicians in divers significations; sometime they take it for the whole harmony of many voices, others sometime for one of the voices or parts: last of all they take it for singing a part extempore upon a plainsong, in which sense we commonly use it…¹⁰

---


Morley continues to explain improvisation over plainsong, a skill that had been treated by theorists since the Middle Ages. Morley, like many music theorists through the ages, tended to look to the past. His purpose was to present an English equivalent of the great theoretical works of Heinrich Glarean and Gioseffo Zarlino, who themselves were conservatives more concerned with describing established traditions than the practices of their immediate contemporaries.

Charles Butler’s *The Principles of Music in Singing and Setting* (1636) is equally out of step with the seventeenth-century Italian practice. Butler treats the hexachord system, the Greek note names, and the Guidonian scale in the ancient tradition of music theory treatises. He concentrates on the fundamentals of note against note composition, uses the study of canon as a teaching aid, and stresses the careful control of dissonance. He instructs his readers to study the works of Clemens, Vecchi, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Marenzio, Taverner, Parsons, Bull, Dowland, Tallis, Byrd, Morley, and others, and also mentions the contemporary composers, Thomas and John Tomkins as excellent models. He mentions no Italians of the *seconda prattica*, nor any song writers of his own times, such as Nicholas Lanier and John Wilson.\(^\text{11}\)

In spite of this slow beginning, declamatory song with lute continuo accompaniment found its way to England through several avenues near the beginning of the seventeenth century, and by 1620 it was supplanting the Golden Age lute song tradition. The introduction to Gulio Caccini’s *Le Nuove Musiche*, essentially an instruction manual for singing in the new declamatory style, was

translated into English and published by John Playford in nine consecutive editions of his *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* and must have received wide distribution.\footnote{Gulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*, (Florence, 1601).} Robert Dowland’s *A Musical Banquet* mentioned above presented English lute song, French *airs de cour*, and Spanish airs, along with Italian monody by Caccini, Domenico Maria Megli, and another unidentified Italian. Although the lute parts were presented in tablature rather than with a figured bass, there must have been significant interest in this new foreign music to warrant its inclusion. The Italian singer/lutenist Angelo Notari arrived in England around 1610 and served at court from 1625 until his death in 1663. He published *Prime Musiche Nuove* in 1613, songs for various groupings of voices with only a bass line accompaniment, suitable to theorbo continuo.\footnote{Ian Spink, “Playford’s ‘Directions for Singing After the Italian Manner,’” *The Monthly Musical Record*, (July-Aug. 1959), pp. 130-135.} While the song texts were in Italian, the introduction in English was certainly intended to win over an English audience. Nicholas Lanier, who would emerge as a defining force in the cavalier song, traveled to Venice in 1610 and made numerous trips to Italy during his long service at court. He participated with others in translating the idiom of declamatory song into an English format. He was then able to popularize this new style through his vast influence as Master of Musick to Charles I. Many lutenist composers participated in this new art form, including William and Henry Lawes, Charles and Edward Coleman, John Wilson, William Webb, and many anonymous non-professional musicians.\footnote{Angelo Notari, *Prime Musiche Nuove di Angelo Notari a una, due, et tre voci, per Cantare con la Tiorba et altri stromenti*, (London, 1613).}
Chapter II

The Intabulated Lute Accompaniments to
English Cavalier Songs 1630-1670

This chapter will examine the surviving continuo song accompaniments with lute tablature from this period. The songs with intabulated accompaniments make up a very small portion of the overall repertory, about two hundred, compared to more than fifteen hundred songs with unfigured or partially figured bass. The eight intabulated accompaniments will be analyzed to gain an overview of the great variety of stylistic elements used by lutenists of this period. The analysis will also look at aspects of instrumentation, including the use and tuning of the three different lutes employed throughout this period, as well as their possible use in combinations with other accompanying instruments. In chapter IV elements of these stylistic features will be used to create lute continuo realizations of songs published without tablature.

From the 1620s onward, song manuscripts may survive with an unfigured bass line, with an intabulated lute part, or with both. As the century progressed, the surviving tablature accompaniments became less numerous as lutenists apparently developed fluency in continuo realization. Collections often include a mixture of songs with tablature accompaniments and others having only an unfigured bass. Often the same song survives with an intabulated accompaniment in one source, but with a continuo bass line instead in another. This plurality makes it seem unlikely that the notation of the accompaniment – intabulated versus bass line – indicates a different accompanimental style. It is more likely that the decision on whether to intabulate or not was based solely on
the level of the lute player’s ability to realize continuo from a bass line.

Exceptions to this theory apply to manuscripts prepared by the composers themselves. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1, (the John Wilson manuscript) is a presentation manuscript prepared under the direction of John Wilson, who was himself the scribe for the tablature realization in it. Broxbourne 49.9 and Lambeth Palace MS 1041 both feature autographs by Charles Coleman. Many of the accompaniments in these three manuscripts are beyond the abilities of the average student. They probably do not represent an implication that the reader would be unable to realize continuo; it is more likely that they are intended to preserve examples of ideal accompaniments by master composers.

The intabulated lute accompaniments from the 1630s through the 1670s are important because they supply a written-out account of the transition from the Elizabethan lute song into a period when accompaniments were mostly improvised. They document the growth of an accompaniment style that responded to the new declamatory vocal style of composers like Wilson, Lanier and the Lawes brothers. In addition, they reflect the ongoing modifications in lute construction that took place during the seventeenth century in England – from 10-course lute to 12-course lute to 13-course theorbo with re-entrant top string. The analysis that follows separates the manuscripts into categories based on the instruments for which they were composed and presents them in roughly chronological order. It will concentrate on identifying important elements of accompaniment style in the eight song collections.
Analysis

Manuscripts with tablature accompaniments for 10-course lute

**New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4175 (Ann Twice, Her Book)**

Dated by watermarks, this manuscript was written before 1630 and includes six songs with tablature accompaniment for 10-course lute, as well as several additional songs with intabulated accompaniment for viol. There are notated ornaments in all of the lute tablature accompaniments.

Example 2.1, *Dear, do not your fair beauty*, Robert Johnson, Drexel MS 4175, p. xli, mm. 1-5:

---

1 For a detailed description of this manuscript see John P. Cutts, “Songs Unto the Violl and Lute – Drexel MS 4175,” *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 16 (1962), pp. 73-92.
The ornament symbols “x” and “,” are used, with the former probably a fore-fall (appoggiatura from below), and the latter in the position where a back-fall (appoggiatura from above) would be expected. The symbol “,” sometimes appears with a single or double dot following it (,. or ;), and these symbols may indicate the addition of ascending shakes (trills) after the back-fall.

The vertical line “|” appears in other songs such as *Cloris sighte, and sange, and wept*, and is called a “beat” by Thomas Mace. He describes its performance as a prolonged trill to the fret a half step below the written note. In the opening of *Cloris* the beat is placed on the first chord, and if it were struck repeatedly as Mace suggests, it would have the effect of sustaining the harmony throughout the entire measure. The symbol is used again on the second chord of measure four, this time to emphasize the dissonance between the vocal melody and its accompaniment on the word “singing.” These are typical uses of this ornament throughout the manuscript.

---

Example 2.2, *Cloris sighte, and sange, and wepte*, Alphonso Bales?, Drexel MS 4175, p. lii, mm. 1-5:

Drexel MS 4175 suggests that an accompaniment with a variety of little graces might have been acceptable by some lutenists. In addition to Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s*...
Monument, other sources can provide additional information about ornamentation, even though they do not refer specifically to accompaniments.\footnote{Two sources that may have direct bearing on this subject are the instructions in Schoole of Musicke (1603) by Thomas Robinson and Secretum Musarum (1615) by Nicholas Vallet, but in both are quite brief compared to Mace’s discussion of ornaments.}

In the viol tablature accompaniments that follow the pieces with lute accompaniment in the same manuscript, the viol plays mainly a bass line, with occasional thirds, chords, and cadential figures. There are very few ornament signs in the viol intabulations, which suggests another possible function for the ornaments in the lute accompaniments. While ornaments can be simply decorative, they can also be used to prevent the sound of the instrument from dying away on a long note value. Using ornaments can add support by drawing more sound from the instrument, shading dynamics and sustaining the accompaniment under the voice. Use of ornaments for this purpose in the viol accompaniments would not be necessary due to the sustaining nature of the instrument.

Thomas Robinson’s comments on lute ornamentation seem pertinent to this point (this author’s bold):

\emph{… and note that the longer the time of a single stroke, that the more need it hath of a relish, for a relish will help, both to grace it, and also to continue the sound of the note its full time:} but in a quick time a little touche finger.\footnote{Robinson, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 8.}

\textbf{Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. f.575}

These songs for lute and voice are part of volume seven in a 10-volume collection of mostly instrumental music given to Christ Church, Oxford by a Mr. William Iles in 1673.
The songs appear to date from the 1630s, but no definitive date can be assigned. Volume seven includes ten songs for 10-course lute with tablature accompaniments, eighty-five pieces for lyra-viol by John Jenkins, Simon Ives, William Lawes and others, and five pieces for keyboard by Orlando Gibbons. Of the ten intabulated lute songs, five are in the standard G tuning, four are in nominal A tuning, and one is in nominal D tuning. The concept of nominal tuning assumes that the pitch of the lute does not change from song to song, but that the vocal part transposes to match the lute pitch, instead of the lute player retuning or using a different instrument. For example, if the voice part of a song is written one tone above the pitch that the lute will sound in its normal G tuning, the voice would simply shift down a tone to match the lute, rather than the lute moving to A tuning to meet the voice. Nominal tuning may have been used for a number of reasons: 1) to allow the vocal part to avoid ledger lines and remain within the staff; or 2) to keep the vocal part away from key signatures involving three flats, keys that were not universally recognized in the music theory of the day as applied to mensural notation, but that were possible on the lute.⁶

There is infrequent use of the top string of the lute, but when it is used, it seems to function best in the higher tuning. Seven of the songs use bar lines; three do not. If the lack of bar lines indicates a performance style, then perhaps these songs should be played with a less measured approach. The accompaniments are neatly copied, without mistakes or corrections. Block chords predominate, and are often repeated verbatim when the notes are repeated in the bass line. The following excerpt from *Eyes, gaze no more* shows this straightforward block chord texture as well as a final cadence formula that is used throughout the collection:

---
⁶ Many examples of nominal tuning implying transposition of the vocal line can be seen in the *airs de cour* for voice and lute published by Robert Ballard from 1603 to 1643.
Example 2.3, *Eyes gaze no more*, Anonymous, Bodleian f.575, f. 6v, mm. 9-17:
The cadence starting in the penultimate measure shows the formulaic 3-4-4-3 melodic activity starting on the note B, coupled with the descent from 8 to 7 on the last half-measure. In the 3-4-4-3 cadence, the third quarter note where the 4 is struck against the 5 (notes C and D respectively) is the strongest moment, with the resolution to 3 relaxing the tension. Variations on the above cadence include the use of the 6/4 chord resolving to 5/3, 6/4 to 5/4 to 5/3, and one plain cadence of root position chords (5/3-5/3) as shown in example 2.4, but the cadence illustrated above is by far the most common.
Example 2.4, other cadence figures in Bodleian f.575:

![Chord Diagram](image)

The accompaniments in Bodleian f.575 could have been played by a beginning student. They contain all the basic elements of an accompaniment: harmonic support in the form of block chords for beginnings and middles of phrases, and simple cadences for phrase endings.

**Oxford, Bodleian MS Don.c.57**

This manuscript, dated circa 1640, is probably for 10-course lute, although there is indiscriminate and probably incorrect use of the tablature symbol for the eleventh course. All of the intabulations and the diagram of chords are at the end of the manuscript with the songs for unfigured bass in the beginning. Composers represented include Henry Lawes and John Wilson.

The scribal error confusing the tenth and eleventh courses, combined with other obvious tablature errors indicates that the writer was an inexperienced student. Chord voicings often seem awkward and arbitrary. There are many corrections, with entire chords scratched out and rewritten by the original hand in the manner of a student correcting his or her work.
Of the thirteen songs in the manuscript, three have a separate bass line written at the bottom of the page. The question of why these bass lines were included with some songs and not others is intriguing, and the answer may hinge on the nominal tuning of the voice compared to the lute in the various songs, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

In ten of the songs the voice matches the normal G tuning. Three are in nominal A tuning compared to the voice (that is, the vocal part is written one tone higher than the lute part). Two of the three songs in A tuning have a bass line provided, which the player could have used to improvise a transposed accompaniment. The player would simply have to read the bass line using the G tuning – the standard lute tuning for this period – and he or she would be able to realize the accompaniment up a tone from what the tablature implies. The third song in nominal A tuning, *Sing sing Syren*, does not have room on the page to add a bass line, so none appears. This theory of a bass line used for transposition is brought into question by the fact that one song in G tuning, *How wretched is*, has a bass line inserted on the facing page where there is some extra room. Whether these added bass lines were intended as a reference for transposition by the intabulator, or as a part for another instrument such as the bass viol, they are instructive because they show the lute intabulation’s pitch relationship to the bass line. *Shall I despaire of my resolv’d intent* is one of the songs in nominal A tuning, and it has a mensural bass line written out underneath the intabulated accompaniment. In the accompaniment some liberty is taken in the intabulation regarding restriking long notes and octave transposition compared to the bass line. Throughout the song the notes above E in the bass clef are transposed down an octave, possibly to make use of the resonant low range on the lute. In the transcription of example 2.5, the song has been transcribed down a tone so that the melody matches the
lute in G tuning and the bass line has been put into the same key for easy comparison. The discrepancies between the bass line and the bass of the lute tablature are evident.

Example 2.5, *Shall I despaire of my resolved intent*, Anonymous, Bodleian Don. c.57, p. 98:
Transcription:

Some corrections were made in the above transcription: the harmony requires a D in the bass of the first chord of the tablature realization rather than A♭, and the four eighth notes in measure seven of the bass line sound more correct transposed up a tone. This mistransposition in measure seven of the bass could have occurred if the scribe was devising the bass line from the tablature, since a line break occurs in the song at this point, a place where scribal mistakes often occur.
Although Bodleian Don. c.57 is probably the work of a student, it is worth studying because of the issues surrounding the additional bass lines in some of the songs in it. Their possible relation to transposition has been addressed above; the implication that an additional bass line instrument might have been used will be explored further in this chapter.

The manuscript also contains a page entitled “Stops upon the theorbo” containing simple cadences and chord shapes that a beginning continuo student might write out for reference. The accompaniments themselves are freely adapted to the student’s elementary technique, and were surely a work in progress.

New Haven, Yale University Filmer MS A.14

It is not clear that Filmer A.14 is an English manuscript, as it contains only one song in English. Dated between 1640 and 1660, the manuscript contains nine Italian songs, four French, one Latin, and one English. In addition to the songs for which both melody and tablature accompaniment are provided, there are three songs without the bass, two movements of Sonata Opus 2 No.1 by Corelli, and some unidentified instrumental music. A 10-course lute in standard Renaissance tuning seems to be the best choice overall, but the English song requires an eleventh course tuned to B♭. The style of accompaniment is very rhythmic, with many broken chords, and it is consistent throughout, no matter what the language of the text is. In many cases, multiple verses of a song have been completely set to music rather than simply writing out the text at the bottom of the page. Several songs have short introductions and interludes between verses that are more chordal and rhythmic than they are melodic, like the accompaniments themselves.

Dr. Gordon Callon informed me by e-mail in November of 2003 that the provenance of Filmer MS. A. 14 has not been determined, nor are there concordances with other songs.
For the most part there is no rhythmic notation in the tablature accompaniment. If the scribe, singer, and accompanist were the same person, the tablature and its approximate placement under the text would have been more than sufficient for performance, but to an outsider’s eye, the rhythm is sometimes hard to decipher. The non-rhythmic spacing of the text indicates that it was probably copied first. Since the text takes up most of the space between the vocal staff and the tablature, the rhythmic signs were not included; there was simply no room. If there was conscious intent behind their omission, it might have been to imply a flexible, free approach to playing the accompaniment, or that the rhythm could have been changed to fit the character of subsequent verses. In the experience of this player, working from this manuscript is a challenge and demands a different kind of listening, with heightened awareness of the vocal part.

Example 2.6 is the single song in English from the manuscript. This writer has supplied a solution to the rhythms of the accompaniment, but other choices are possible.
Example 2.6, *Peace, peace, you lowde violins*, Anonymous, Filmer MS A.14,

f. 19v-20, mm 1-9:
While Filmer MS A.14 is of dubious provenance and may not represent typical English song accompaniment, it is significant because it provides examples in a continuously broken chordal style that is usually associated with the accompaniment of the French *air de cour*. The inclusion of one English song in the manuscript introduces the possibility that this style could have been familiar to English lutenists.
Manuscripts with tablature accompaniments for 12-course lute

**Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1 (John Wilson MS).**

John Wilson (1595-1673) took part in the preparation of this manuscript to be presented to the Bodleian Library in 1656, the year he was named Heather Professor of Music at Oxford.\(^8\) This document is of great importance because it is the unique source for many songs by Wilson, and because it represents his direct efforts rather than simply those of a student or publisher. It contains 188 songs with only an unfigured bass and thirty-eight songs with both tablature and an unfigured bass. The last twenty-one intabulated songs are on Latin texts by Horace and Ovid. Of the thirty-eight intabulated accompaniments, four are for lute in nominal A tuning, the notational convention discussed earlier where the vocal line transposes up one whole step to meet the pitch of the lute tablature. At the beginning of the manuscript, before the songs, there are several pages of chord studies for lute, followed by twenty-seven solo lute voluntaries in a variety of keys.

The accompaniments in this manuscript appear to be particularly well crafted, and the source has the advantage of presenting both the bass line and the intabulated realization in score format. This is especially helpful when the bass line and the intabulation diverge for brief moments, making it clear when the intabulator opted for a different octave, or in some cases, a substituted bass line. The realizations are often in two- and three-voice counterpoint, in a style reminiscent of the Golden Age lute song. As in Bodleian Doc. c.57, this manuscript raises the question of the purpose of the bass line – whether it implies the use of a viol, either along with, or in place of the lute. That issue will be addressed at the end of this chapter.

---

Several compositional features stand out that require a discussion of the tuning of Wilson’s instrument. The tessitura of the intabulated accompaniments emphasizes the middle and lower range of the lute, making very little use of the first course. When used, this course seems to function best at the higher octave, although there are some instances that seem to indicate a re-entrant tuning – an octave lower – for it.

Example 2.7, Standard vs. re-entrant tuning of the first course:

Standard Renaissance lute tuning for the first course:

English theorbo tuning with re-entrant first course:

If it is assumed that the lute used for these songs had the capabilities to play higher notes on the first course, one must ask why these higher pitches were not used more frequently. The most plausible answer seems to be that the resonant low and middle registers were favored by Wilson, both when the lute was in an accompaniment role, and when performing solos, such as the twenty-seven voluntaries at the beginning of the manuscript. It is interesting that Wilson often intabulates the note G on the fifth fret of the second course (tablature f) rather than simply placing it on the open string of the first course (tablature a):
Example 2.8, Higher positions on the second course instead of using the first course:

This suggests one of three possibilities: 1) that Wilson might have preferred the covered sound of the fretted note rather than a ringing open string, 2) that he might have used a lowered first course, or 3) that the first course was made up of two strings tuned an octave apart, although that seems unlikely, since there is no evidence from a seventeenth century source that this tuning was employed:

Example 2.9, 12-course tuning with first course octaves:

The split-octave tuning would solve many voice leading problems. Perhaps Wilson and some of the other lutenist composers were ambiguous on this point because the octave in which this string sounded and the resulting inversions of chords and scale passages that would result were details with which they simply were not concerned. For the purposes of this study, transcriptions of Wilson’s work will assume the standard Renaissance tuning for the 12-course lute, not the re-entrant or octave tuning for the first course. For clarity,
the upper octaves produced by the octave stringing of the diapasons are not notated in the transcription, but their presence should be understood in all cases.

There is a very free approach to octave transposition of the bass line in the intabulated accompaniments. Even though a 12-course lute has the requisite high courses to play full chords in the upper range, that effect is used only part of the time. Much of the writing takes advantage of the rich middle and low range of the instrument, by transposing the bass down one and sometimes two octaves, as we will see in some of the following examples.

In many places the intabulated lute part contains a re-composition of, or an addition to, the bass line that appears in staff notation. The following excerpt from No, I will sooner trust shows both of these elements. Embellishment of the bass line is common, for example, the two eighth notes leading to measure two of example 2.10. Measures four and five are recomposed to create two consecutive 7-6 suspensions, with the written bass omitted in the lute realization. The accompaniment also makes use of unisons on adjacent strings in measures three and five. In both instances, the note F is produced on both strings, allowing that pitch to ring through as the note is changed on the other string. The result is a rich, almost harp-like dissonance as the F and E ring together.
Example 2.10, *No, no, I will sooner trust*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, f. 142v, mm. 11-16:

Transcription:
In Example 2.11, *Thou greate and good*, there is a more significant recomposition of the bass of the lute part. The realization adds a pedal point C in the final measure of the song, and dispenses with the notes of the mensural bass line altogether. The treble of the lute part keeps the shape of this missing bass line, shadowing the vocal line in parallel thirds. This choice capitalizes on the sonorous diapason courses of the lute, which might have been strung in octaves. It is clear from this example that it would have been unlikely for the lute part and bass line to have been played together as an accompaniment to the song; doing so would have created parallel fifths between the bass line and upper voice of the lute in beats five to eight of the last measure.

Example 2.11, *Thou greate and good*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, f. 147r, mm. 15-16:
Contrapuntal activity occurs throughout the texture of the accompaniments. The independent motion of the voices between the bass line and the vocal part can generally be observed throughout this entire collection of intabulated songs. When the bass moves by step in quarter note values, parallel thirds, tenths and sixths are common. Bassline motion by step in slower note values is often realized with parallel thirds and with the use of suspensions from a tone above. This movement of 4 to 3 over the bass, typically associated with a cadence, has an ornamental function since here the bass does not resolve in the manner of a cadence. These suspensions of 4 to 3 also appear as ornaments to stepwise progressions of 6/3 chords as well, creating double appoggiaturas of 6/4 to 6/3 as in measure three of Example 2.12 from *Foolish lover, goe*. The treble part of the lute accompaniment creates an expressive dissonance against the vocal part:
Example 2.12, *Foolish lover, goe*, Anonymous, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, f. 140r, mm. 8-15:

Transcription:

While a voice within the accompaniment can be used to create harmonic tension against the vocal line, it can also respond to melodic shapes in the vocal part. Example 2.13 is part of Wilson’s setting of *Epode 2* by the Latin poet Horace, a longer work that extends for five pages. The most notable features here are the passages of parallel sixths and thirds between the upper line of the lute part and the vocal line. This texture occurs at the end of both of the two major parts of the song, where a dominant pedal point is introduced.
Example 2.13, *Epode 2*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, ff. 191v-195r, part 1, mm. 75-79:

In example 2.13, motion by parallel sixths (literally thirteenths) is used leading into the first complete measure of the excerpt. After that the interval of a third (tenth) is used fairly consistently, interrupted by full chords only at moments of metric stress in the text, such as “Pa-vi-DUM-que,” “LA-que-o,” “GRU-em,” and “iu-CUN-da.” The parallel motion is an effective way to accompany over a pedal point; it reinforces the direction of the vocal melody while the pedal, played by the thumb, creates a repeating rhythmic and
harmonic impulse. It is worth noting that the pedal point in the lute part is broken into smaller note values compared to the bass line, a testimony to the need for restriking notes that fade out quickly on the lute. Another use of this style of accompaniment, the setting of a line in parallel motion to the vocal melody, can be seen in at the conclusion of Charles Coleman’s *Wake my Adonis*, below.\(^9\) Coleman used figures rather than tablature to indicate the voice moving parallel to the vocal melody.

Example 2.14, *Wake my Adonis*, Charles Coleman, *Select Musical Ayres and Dialogs*, p. 26, mm. 41-46:

\[^9\] Charles Coleman, in *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues, In Three Bookees* (1653), (London: John Playford, 1653) p. 26
Possible realization:

```
\begin{music}
\begin{Staff}
\Staff{C}
\New staff {clef=treble}
love my grief, make tears my tears re-liefe, & sor-row shall to me a new A-don-is be:
\end{Staff}
\Staff{Bass}
\New staff {clef=bass}
\end{music}
```

Sometimes the composed voice or voices in the accompaniment can have a pictorial function. The music historian Vincent Duckles cites an excellent example of text painting in an inner voice by describing the ending of Stay, fairest Clarissa, which is shown in example 2.15.

Here with obvious pictorial intent the lute part descends to the earth while the voice rises to the stars, creating a spread of three octaves between the solo and the lute bass.\(^\text{10}\)

The song text, comparing the heavenly attributes of Clarissa to the baseness of life on Earth without her, is well served by this musical device:

---

Example 2.15, *Stay fairest Clarissa*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, ff. 140v-142r, mm. 21-23:

Transcription:

Wilson’s final and important sectional cadences show a rather narrow range of variation, but they are carefully composed in terms of voice leading and are worth looking at in more detail as examples to be emulated. For lack of seventeenth-century terminology, the names subdominant, dominant, and tonic will be used to describe the chords on the fourth, fifth, and first scale degrees. Almost all cadences in Wilson’s songs with the exception of two plagal (subdominant to tonic) cadences in two of the Latin settings, make use of the progression of subdominant, dominant, and tonic. Occasional variations in this progression occur: example 2.15A omits the subdominant and creates finality by a repetition of the dominant – tonic progression starting from the G# in the bass. Example
2.15C borrows from the parallel minor, with a B in the subdominant built on G. The subdominants can be root position triads, but more often contain an appoggiatura of 6/3 to 5/3 harmonies as in examples 2.15A and 2.15B.

The dominant chord is decorated with some variety, the most common being the 4-#3 suspension as in 2.15A, with #3-4-4-#3 as a close second in popularity. Somewhat less common is the use of the full dominant seventh chord, either struck together, or broken artfully with suspensions and arpeggios, as in 2.15B. In all these cases, voice leading at cadences carefully avoids doubling the vocal line and, in most cases, does not even include the voice’s note within the chord. In addition, the accompaniment typically sets up rhythmic contrast against the vocal line during the dominant chord, as in 2.15A and 2.15B. Example 2.15C is unusual in that the vocal line climbs to the tonic from the raised seventh scale degree instead of descending more typically from the second to the first scale degree. In this example, the dominant is harmonized with a C# that resolves to D, mirroring the vocal line, but this motion is disguised by the distribution of the C# within the chord and by the use of a descending dominant seventh.

In Wilson’s manuscript and in all the other manuscripts in this study, virtually all final and important sectional cadences end with a major tonic chord, whether the song begins in a minor key or not. Wilson uses a rhythmic convention throughout for the final tonic: the bass note is struck on the first beat with the rest of chord following a beat later. It is a convention found frequently in the period, including the voluntaries for solo lute at the beginning of this manuscript and in many other lute solos and accompaniments elsewhere. It was probably understood as a clear indication of finality, like the period at the end of a sentence.
Example 2.15A, *Thus dark sett of my light*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, ff. 157r-158r, mm. 47-48:

Example 2.15B, *The wound love gave me*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, ff. 174v-175v, m. 46:
Example 2.15C, *Tu ne quaesieris*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, ff. 203r-203v, mm. 27-28:

![Musical Example](image)

Triple meter calls for special treatment in the accompaniment, with the breaking of whole notes into an unharmonized bass half note, followed by a chordal half note. Thus in measures one and four of example 2.16 there is an impulse on each of the three beats of the measure, allowing the accompanist to shape the rhythmic intensity of the triple meter in greater detail.

Example 2.16, *I am confirmed in my belief*, John Wilson, Bodleian MS Mus. b.1, ff. 145r, mm. 10-16:

![Musical Example](image)
It is worth noting the rhythmic character of these broken chords; they both lie in the resonant mid-range of the lute and do not connect to the more harmonically and melodically active measures that follow them. The tonal character of the chords is important also, with their positioning on the fingerboard aiming for maximum resonance on the lute. The A on the third course and the F on the fourth course are reinforced by a unison F on the fifth course. The result is that this chord rings all the way to the next stopped string, creating a very rich sonority. The effect of rhythmically breaking a chord with a thumb on the bass followed by fingers on the treble notes is mentioned in continuo tutors by Mace and Matteis, who were writing twenty and thirty years later, respectively.
It is particularly significant to observe this technique in tablatures from this earlier period.\textsuperscript{11} \textsuperscript{12}

The intabulated accompaniments in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1 provide a wealth of stylistic inspiration for the lutenist. Perhaps the most striking feature of these realizations is their contrapuntal complexity. Many of the independent alto and tenor lines composed by Wilson would be hard to deduce from the unfigured basses, especially approaching cadences. They owe much of their melodic inventiveness to the Elizabethan lute song tradition. As in the earlier lute songs, good voice leading is maintained here, unless there is an expressive requirement for a richer or thinner texture.\textsuperscript{13} As we have seen, these contrapuntal lines can function in a variety of ways: as a vehicle for expressive dissonance, as a melodic reaction to, or an anticipation of the bass or vocal part, or as an aid to text painting. Perhaps Wilson intabulated these songs so he could control the inner voices in a manner different from what would normally be expected in a song provided only with an unfigured bass. But even if these songs represent a special, or even idealized accompaniment style, they show that a more detailed, contrapuntal approach to accompaniment could have been within the realm of expectations.

The contrapuntal nature of Wilson’s accompaniments can be examined compared to other contemporaneous genres with fully realized accompaniments. The instrumental music of William Lawes is a good choice for this, since Lawes was a lutenist-songwriter colleague of Wilson’s and an important exponent of the genre termed “fantasia-suite” by modern music historians. First cultivated by John Coprario in the early years of the

\textsuperscript{11} Mace, op. cit., pp. 228-9.
\textsuperscript{13} While logical voice leading is generally maintained in Wilson, there are some unsatisfactory passages, like the connection between measures four and five in example 2.15. This diminished fifth would resolve correctly if Wilson’s lute had been strung with octaves in the lower courses. The transcriptions do not reflect that possibility.
seventeenth century, the fantasia-suite flourished as private music in the homes of the patrons of Christopher Gibbons, William Lawes, and later, John Jenkins. Its style derives from the fantasy tradition for viol consort of the previous century, melded with the new early baroque experimentation with longer instrumental forms. The resulting sequence of fantasia – almaine – galliard sometimes saw the addition of other movements, and it was typically scored for violin, bass viol and organ, or two violins, viol, and organ. The fantasia-suite is significant for this study because, unlike the later baroque suite or sonata, the organ parts were fully realized with a multi-voiced contrapuntal texture that serves as an integral part of the composition.

The opening of the Fantasia from Suite No. 1 in G Minor shows the role of the organ as it states the first theme in three distinct voices and then passes it off to the violin and viol. The organ contributes middle entries of the theme in the midst of the interplay between the violin and bass viol in measures four and five. At times it reinforces the bass line played by the bass viol, whereas, elsewhere it forms an independent bass line.

Example 2.17A, *Fantasia* from Suite No. 1 in G Minor, William Lawes, p. 1, mm. 1-8, in *Musica Britannica*, vol. 60, ed. David Pinto, Stainer and Bell, 1991:

It is worth conjecturing whether the accompanimental style of the organ in these fantasia-suites is related to the elaborate accompaniments intabulated by Wilson in Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1. They share two very important features: 1) counterpoint that is independent of the other composed voices, and 2) an idiomatic approach to setting the bass line for the lute and organ, with broken octaves, and melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic decorations. The existence of these organ realizations by William Lawes, a composer who also wrote and performed the cavalier song repertory, may indicate that Wilson’s ideal of a contrapuntal lute accompaniment was familiar to other song composers.
London, British Library MS Egerton 2013

Historians cannot agree on even an approximate date for this manuscript, but the songs contained in it are by Wilson, Lanier, the Lawes brothers, John Hilton, and others, all of whom were active in the 1630s and 1640s. Many songs are incomplete and show multiple corrections, as if the writer were attempting to write them down from memory after hearing them. Of the seventy-five songs, twenty-seven have realized lute tablature. Among the intabulated songs very few have attributions, and they usually do not appear in other collections. Compared to Wilson’s MS Mus. b.1, the lute continuo intabulations here are not contrapuntally complex; instead there is a texture of three-and four-voiced chords commonly connected by bass notes, with middle voice counterpoint occurring only at cadences. Low bass notes are rarely combined with chords, but they are sometimes struck before or after a full chord.

The manuscript has two interesting features: 1) the omission in the tablature of rhythmic signs and sometimes bar lines as we saw above in Filmer A.14, and 2) the failure to resolve leading tones at some cadences. These features are illustrated in example 2.17B:
Example 2.17B, *Silly hart, forbeare*, Nicholas Lanier, Egerton 2013, p. 72:

Transcription of mm. 1-5:
Like Filmer A.14, the rhythm signs were probably omitted because there was no room between the song text and the tablature. The transcription has been left without rhythmic signs to illustrate the relative ease of aligning the two parts at sight.

As to the feature of omitting resolutions from 4 to 3 in the dominant chords at some cadences, it is possible that this is either another example of a scribe’s shorthand or a stylistic decision. The omission of the resolution may be a conscious decision to give the singer the freedom to resolve the cadence at his or her leisure, perhaps with an added ornamental flourish. In example 2.17B, the cadence at the end of the first section (fourth measure of the transcription) omits the resolution, suspending the 4 throughout the measure. It is resolved to 3 in the vocal part, so all the harmony is complete. There are six examples of this avoidance of resolution within the twenty-seven intabulated songs that do not occur in consistent structural locations within the songs. While this type of non-resolution in the accompaniment is not common, it is found in other sources. An early example, predating the period of the cavalier song by 30 or 40 years, is found in the opening measures of *I saw my lady weepe* by John Dowland.\(^{15}\) The editorial figures in the transcription illustrate how the lute accompaniment sets up a suspension on the dominant that is resolved by the voice.

Example 2.18, *I saw my Lady weepe*, John Dowland, *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, p. 1, mm. 1-6:

Transcription of mm. 3-6:
Manuscripts with tablature accompaniments
suitable for theorbo with the first course tuned down an octave

Lambeth Palace Library MS 1041 (Lady Ann Blount Song Book)\textsuperscript{16}

This manuscript, copied ca. 1650-60, contains twenty-nine songs, many in the hand of Charles Coleman (ca. 1605-64). The tablature realizations show that instruments with two different tunings could have been used; a theorbo with thirteen courses and a low first course, or a lute with at least ten courses. Lambeth Palace MS 1041 shows a more international flavor than those studied above, containing twenty-one songs in English, eight in French, and three in Italian. Compositional style of the vocal part varies according to nationality, with Italian diminutions in the Italian and some of the English songs, in contrast to decoration with graces and fewer diminutions in the style of the \textit{air de cour} for the French songs. Since the topic of this paper is the accompaniment of English song, the French and Italian songs in this manuscript will not be discussed in detail. Let it suffice to mention that the French songs use the broken chords, or \textit{style brisé} found in the solo lute music of Ballard, the Gautiers and other French lutenist composers. Simple chords are broken rhythmically throughout the course of a phrase and then struck without arpeggiation at cadences.

Example 2.19, *Je ne cognois que trop*, Michel Lambert, Lambeth Palace MS 1041, ff. 9v, 11r-11v, mm. 1-9:

Example 2.19 probably fits best on a 10-course lute with a high top string. The song includes markings not encountered earlier in this study: dots by tablature figures to indicate left-hand fingerings, slurs in the vocal part to group some syllables, and slurs in
the lute part to indicate notes that should be allowed to ring on. The French songs in this
manuscript are stylistically related to the *airs de cour* found in France between 1603 and
1643, which were published with tablature accompaniments, rather than figured or
unfigured bass. This *style brisé* does not seem to be applied to English songs in any of the
manuscripts studied here except in Broxbourne and in the solitary English song in Filmer
A.14. The presence of some songs using *style brisé* indicates that some English musicians
were aware of it. Chapter III will show that Thomas Mace used *style brisé* frequently in
his theorbo examples in *Musick’s Monument*, an indication that it could have been a
popular accompanimental style in some circles.

The Italian songs in the Lambeth Palace MS seem to work best using the theorbo
tuning, with the first course sounding down an octave. Of the three Italian songs, one is
partially in declamatory style and the other two are lighter *canzonette*. The declamatory
opening of *O mia Fili gradita* is of particular interest because it provides an intabulation
of a slow moving bass line typical of an Italian *lamento*. The first phrase of the song
repeats the same harmony six times, with only the octave of the bass note being varied.

Example 2.20, *O mia Fili gradita*, Anonymous, Lambeth Palace MS 1041,
f. 53v, mm. 1-6:
One must wonder if this chord would be repeated as plainly as it is notated here, or if rolling the chord at various speeds or variation of spacing would have been expected in performance, with the tablature simply serving as an indication of the harmony. The simplicity of example 2.20 is in direct contrast to the harmonic sophistication of the cadences, such as the one in below in example 2.21. Compared to the cadences from the John Wilson manuscript examined in examples 2.15A, B, and C, these cadences are more harmonically complex, using the 6/4 chord and the dominant seventh in various combinations. They are also more contrapuntally active, with some occasional doubling of the vocal melody.
Example 2.21, *O mia fili gradita*, Anonymous, Lambeth Palace MS 1041, f. 53r, mm. 16-17:

This song should be studied in detail as a source for accompanying Italian song, but like the French songs in this manuscript, it represents a departure from the style of the English songs of this period. The English songs in general have far fewer static harmonies; they tend to introduce counterpoint above slow-moving bass notes, as we have seen above. However, it is clear from this example that the declamatory style was known in England, and the repeated publication of Caccini’s instructions for singing from his *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602) by John Playford in his *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* bear this
out. Playford included these, translated into English as “Instructions for Singing After the Italian Manner,” in reprints from 1664 to 1694.\textsuperscript{17}

We turn now to the English songs in Lambeth Palace MS 1041, the main thrust of this research. These song accompaniments are similar to those in the John Wilson manuscript in that they employ some carefully composed counterpoint in the middle voices of the accompaniment, but they also make more frequent use of simple parallel tenths and sixths between the bass and the alto and incorporate some block chords. In addition, there are two features not shared with any of the previously discussed manuscripts:

1. The top voice of the accompaniment occasionally doubles the vocal part, as in the opening phrase of \textit{Goe thy way since thou will goe}.

Example 2.22, \textit{Goe thy way since thou will goe}, Anonymous, Lambeth Palace MS 1041, f. 5r, mm. 1-5:

\begin{figure}[h!]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example222.png}
\caption{Example 2.22, \textit{Goe thy way since thou will goe}, Anonymous, Lambeth Palace MS 1041, f. 5r, mm. 1-5:}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h!]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{transcription.png}
\caption{Transcription:}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{17} Spink, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 131.
The doubling of important notes of the melody is disguised somewhat by the octave transposition of the first course, but is still evident to the listener. This is an option often neglected by modern accompanists reading from a continuo bass, even though many period continuo writings do not discourage it except in the case of the verbatim doubling for an extended period. This doubling technique is used sparingly and effectively in Lambeth Palace MS 1041. Sometimes a short motive accompanied in unison will be followed immediately with accompaniment at parallel sixths or tenths, or a moment of harmonic interest will be doubled, like seventh and sixth of a 7-6 half cadence. In the case of example 2.22, the doubled opening passage is contrasted with the remainder of the song, in which the bass line imitates the vocal line at a distance of two quarter notes. The use of doubling is carefully regulated whenever it is used; it is not a student’s mistake.

2. Of all the manuscripts studied, Lambeth Palace MS 1041 uses the greatest variety of textures throughout the course of a single song. In *Beate on proud billows; Boreas, blow!*, a setting by poet Roger L’Estrange about an imprisoned royalist, these texture changes are used for dramatic effect, creating a different affect for each line of text. In order to show these contrasts clearly, the song is quoted in full below:
Example 2.23, *Beate on proud billows, Boreas, blow!*, Anonymous, Lambeth Palace MS 1041, ff. 6v-7r:
Through most of the first two lines of poetry, “Beat on proud billows, Boreas, blow;
Swell curled waves, high as Jove's roof,” the accompaniment consists of four- and five-
ote note chords, which could be performed by playing the bass with the thumb and raking
back over the treble courses with the index finger, a technique described by Mersenne.¹⁸

This sweeping effect could portray the beating waves. The text, “Your incivility will show
/That innocence is tempest-proof” is set first with an alto line in unison to the voice,
followed by a measure of unharmonized bass and then a cadence in only two parts. This
lighter texture has the effect of separating these lines of text from the first two. “Though
surly Nereus frown, my thoughts are calm” is set in a low two-part texture to portray
calmness. The final lines, “Then strike, affliction, for thy wounds are balm,” are set with
an unharmonized scale starting on the lowest string of the lute. It is easy to imagine the
first two notes played with a sharp sound near the bridge of the lute, to mirror the “strike”
of affliction. Twelve other strophes follow, most of which are not as well-suited to the
music as the setting given for the first verse. It is likely that the accompanist would change
some features of the accompaniment to make it serve the subsequent verses better.

The final four pages of the manuscript consist of rules for realizing continuo on
theorbo. A bass line without figures is provided with a tablature realization on a separate
staff below it. The exercises consist of scales in thirds, harmonized scales using 6/3-5/3
and 5/3-6/3 progressions, progressions with bass motion by third, fourth, and fifth,
standard cadences, and first inversion chords. The tablature generally favors the voice-
leading possibilities of an instrument with a lowered first course and, like some of the
French treatises on continuo realization published from 1660 to 1720, it occasionally
allows notes on the first course to sound below the bass. Although the table is intended
for a student, it is a useful reference for anyone wanting to learn the chord shapes specific
to the English theorbo with reentrant tuning of the first course only.

19 For a discussion of this issue see: Kevin Mason, “Francois Campion’s Secret of Accompaniment for the
Theorbo,” Journal of the Lute Society of America, Volume XIV, pp. 69-87, (Palo Alto, CA: Lute Society of
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Broxbourne 84.9

This manuscript, probably copied between 1650 and 1663 by Charles Coleman, contains twelve secular songs and three psalm settings. Like Lambeth Palace 1041, it is an international collection, with ten vocal compositions in English, four in Italian, one in French, and an instrumental *folia* for theorbo. Composers include Henry and William Lawes, Nicholas Lanier, Coleman himself, and François de Chancy. The Italian songs are anonymous. Unlike Lambeth Palace 1041, the pieces in each of the three languages are not accompanied in dramatically different styles; the approach is much more uniform. All of the accompaniments can be played on a theorbo with at least thirteen courses with re-entrant first course, although a few specific passages seem to work better with a high first course.

The accompaniments in Broxbourne 84.9 generally emphasize rhythm and sonority over counterpoint and voice leading. The low range of the theorbo is used throughout with the bass placed on diapasons for almost every chord. Textures are very rich, with usually four or more notes in every chord on a strong beat. As a general rule, full chords are placed on strong syllables to support the natural accentuation of the text. The accompaniment is mostly homophonic, except at cadences when the routine patterns emerge, or when the vocal part is occasionally doubled at a third or sixth. This manuscript preserves an approach that is familiar to modern players where sonority reinforces the accentuation of the text. This is a very different style from manuscripts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1 (John Wilson manuscript) where counterpoint from the Golden Age lute song tradition had a strong influence.
Chords are used rhythmically in several different ways. They can be broken both to sustain the sound and to create syncopation against the voice. Example 2.24 from *I’m sick of love* accomplishes both of these goals by breaking a chord after its bass is struck in measure one, followed by sustained chords in measures two and three.

Example 2.24, *I’m sick of love*, William Lawes, Broxbourne 84.9, ff. 6v-7r, mm. 1-4:

Chords can also be restruck with a raking back of the index finger. Gordon Callon, who recently edited this manuscript, theorizes that the short vertical bar that appears after full chords in songs number eight and ten could indicate this technique. Example 2.25 from *Je ne puis éviter* shows written out chord voicing that would be appropriate for this technique on beats two and three of each measure.
Example 2.25, *Je ne puis éviter*, François de Chancy, Broxbourne 84.9, ff. 4v-5r, mm.12-15:

Examples 2.24 and 2.25 show rhythmic activity that is used both to highlight the vocal part with syncopation and sustain the sound of the lute, but Broxbourne 84.9 also contains many harmonic niceties that heighten important moments in the texts. Some of this activity occurs at cadences, as in *Oft have I sworn*, song number ten:

Example 2.26, *Oft have I sworn*, Henry Lawes, Broxbourne 84.9, ff. 7v-8r, mm. 15-17:
Shifting the harmony between minor and major above the same written pitch in the bass is used for expressive purposes in example 2.27 from song number six, *How cool and temperate*. The words “cool” and “temperate” are treated with D minor and D major chords respectively.

Example 2.27, *How cool and temp’rate*, Henry Lawes, Broxbourne 84.9, ff. 5v-6r, mm. 1-3:

In addition to the harmonic coloring, this example shows an important stylistic element that prevails throughout the manuscript – the accenting of the natural stresses of the text with full chords, while supporting unaccented words with more spare chords. For example, “cool” is strong and receives a four-note chord, “and” is harmonized with a single note, “tem-p’rate” gets a full chord on its first syllable, and “am” gets only a two-note chord. This practice of text accentuation with full chords of four or more voices and giving either nothing or else a very light chord for weak syllables is familiar to many modern continuo performers because it is documented in many period sources. Most of the accompaniments in Broxbourne 84.9 support this practice.
Sometimes a choice of voice leading, rather than harmonic content or chordal accent, is used to create a special effect. There are some deceptive cadences in the manuscript, where a cadence is set up with a 4-3 suspension and then resolved in an unexpected way, but example 2.28 from song number four, *Fuggi, fuggi, fuggi, diletta amante*, heightens this surprise by resolving in parallel fifths and octaves. This choice of voice leading does not seem to be accidental and perfectly expresses the word, “crudele”.

Example 2.28, *Fuggi, fuggi, fuggi, diletta amante*, Anonymous, Broxbourne 84.9, f. 4r, mm 5-6:

It is not clear why only one song from the manuscript, *S’io morro, che dira*, has ornament signs in the accompaniment. Perhaps one was marked with signs as an example of how to play the others. The symbols used include “x” which, in context, could mean a shake either up or down, “,” for a fore-fall or back-fall, and “.x” for a combination of the two. Other signs, for which no meaning is readily discernable, include a fermata placed usually on short notes, and “.” and “…” placed directly under chords and single tablature
figures. They do not seem to be left hand fingerings, because they are often placed under open strings\textsuperscript{20}

Summary

Observations About Instrumentation

Before proceeding to a summary of stylistic observations, it is appropriate to address some of the issues of instrumentation that emerged in the preceding analysis. The cavalier songs survive in print or manuscript in three different configurations: 1) vocal line and bass line in mensural notation (the most common), 2) vocal line and tablature (less common), and 3) vocal line, tablature, and bass line in mensural notation (in two manuscripts only). It is clear that many lutenists were realizing song accompaniments from mensural bass lines from the beginning of the seventeenth century, while some were still intabulating accompaniments, but other instruments – most notably the viola da gamba – were also used to accompany. It is important to address how the viol might have been used in an accompanimental situation in order to understand fully the lute’s role. The possible combination of lute with another instrument is of particular importance, since this would greatly affect the character of the accompaniment.

While two manuscripts, MS Don.c.57 and MS Mus.b.1 (John Wilson), both have a separate bass line either under or near the lute tablature accompaniment, this in itself does not make a strong case for the lute and viol being used simultaneously. On pages 11 to 14 above chapter where Don.c.57 was treated, it was observed that the added bass line probably served as a device for transposition, since all of the songs in nominal A tuning

\textsuperscript{20} Callon, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. xviii-xix.
had the mensural bass added. A lutenist could have used this mensural bass to realize a version of the song down one tone. The bass line has the added benefit of requiring less space than a fully intabulated transposed part. Similarly, the mensural bass line included under the tablature realization in MS Mus. b.1 does not persuade us that lute and viol were used together. In example 2.11 on pages 36 and 37 it is shown that the lute intabulation and the mensural bass line could never have been played together because figuration in the tablature runs in parallel fifths to the bass line. In other places, the mensural bass line and the bass of the tablature frequently diverge from each other and result in dissonances that serve no musical purpose. The intabulated bass line in the lute realization capitalizes on the idiom of the lute, departing from it most notably by restriking long notes, and by adding passing and connecting notes not included in the mensural bass line. As in Don.c.57, the mensural bass lines in MS Mus. b.1 might have been an aid for transposition, or might have been realized by a solitary bass viol player.

The title pages for printed song collections from the period give information about the instrumentation of song accompaniments. These titles clearly identified the instruments that can be used to accompany, and in the spirit of aggressive marketing, tended to mention multiple instrumental options in order to entice the greatest possible number of purchasers. For that reason they might not provide proof of what was practiced, but at least they show some possibilities. The Golden Age lute song practice, while stylistically different in terms of contrapuntal complexity, defined the lute’s role as the primary instrument for accompaniment of the cavalier songs. Some of the Golden Age lute song prints indicated that the viol could have been used with instruments of the lute family (this author’s bolding):
The first booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. parts: vwith Tableture for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Violl de Gamba. Newly composed by Francis Pilkington. London: Printed by T. Este [etc.] 1605

and:

A Mvsicall Dreame. Or The Fovrth Booke Of Ayres, The First part is for the Lute, two Voyces, and the Viole de Gambo; The Second part is for the Lute, the Viole and foure Voices to Sing: The Third part is for one Voyce alone, or to the Lute, the Basse Viole, or to both if you please, Whereof, two are Italian Ayres. Composed by Robert Iones. London: Imprinted by the Assignes of William Barley [etc.] 1609

We know that the viol could have stood on its own for song accompaniments in the Golden Age, based on the publications of songs for voice with viol tablature by Tobias Hume and from written accounts of the practice. The following title pages indicate that viols could play a chordal “lira” accompaniment, possibly even reading lute tablature:

The first and the second booke of songs and ayres, Set out to the Lute, the base Violl the playne way, or the Base by tableture after the leero fashion: Composed by Robert Iones. Printed by P. S. for Mathew Selman by the assent of Thomas Morley [etc.] 1601

This evidence establishes that the viol was possibly used both together with the lute and separately from the lute in this repertory. Later in the century, title pages indicated that the lute and viol’s roles were separate, and list the lute or theorbo as the first choice, with the viol as an alternative, not an optional extra instrument, as in the following:

---

21 Tobias Hume published two collections, The First Part of Ayres (London: John Windet, 1605) and Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke (London: John Windet, 1607).
Matthew Spring lists the English printed song collections and their title pages from 1613 to 1727, and all forty-five publications indicate that one instrument at a time is used for accompaniment, not multiple instruments. For the fourteen printed song collections between 1620 and 1670, the period of the cavalier song, all mention lute, theorbo, or theorbo-lute, while eleven mention the viol as an option. The harpsichord is mentioned four times; the organ three times.\(^{23}\) This seems to be overwhelming evidence in support of the idea that instruments acted alone when they accompanied the cavalier song repertory, whether they were lute, theorbo, viol, or keyboard. If there had been any need to reinforce the soft bass range of the lute with the bass viol in the earlier songs, this would have been resolved when the theorbo gained in popularity since its strong basses would not have needed any extra support.

---

\(^{23}\) Spring, pp. 388-89.
Summary of Stylistic Characteristics of the Accompaniments:

The analysis of the eight intabulated song manuscripts has revealed a rich language of stylistic approaches. Some synthesis is necessary to identify the most important features of the accompaniments, since not all of the manuscripts should be given equal weight, due to the goals and abilities of the scribes. While the student manuscripts reveal much about the learning process, the works of the master composer/performers – Wilson and Coleman – deserve more attention.

The Scribes and Their Goals

Of the eight manuscripts, Drexel 4175, Oxford f.575, Bodleian Don.c.57, and Egerton 2013 are best described as the works of beginners or intermediate students; Filmer A.14 requires more advanced ability, while the John Wilson manuscript, Lambeth Palace 1041, and Broxbourne 84.9 are clearly the works of professional musicians with some songs autographed by a known composer. The various scribes had different capabilities and goals in preserving their accompaniments. Some of the beginning level manuscripts are quite neat, perhaps showing the results of carefully worked out intabulations provided by a teacher, while others show the errors and corrections inherent in the learning process. Filmer A.14 seems to be a document for actual performance, with multiple verses intabulated and some carefully inserted introductions and interludes. The John Wilson manuscript is of presentation quality, offering his ideal accompaniments, while Lambeth Palace 1041 and Broxbourne 84.9 seem to be the books of advanced students who may have worked directly with the lutenist songwriter Charles Coleman. It is essential that a modern performer view the manuscripts from the perspective of their scribes’ goals, abilities, and intentions. While much can be learned about the scribe’s musical education
from examining the beginning and intermediate works, they should not draw too much attention away from the masterworks of this period, the songs of Wilson and Coleman.

**Songs in Other Languages**

Some of the manuscripts include songs with texts in Italian and French, as well as many in English, which attests to the importance of stylistic influences from these continental countries. Filmer A.14, Lambeth Palace 1041 and Broxbourne 84.9 are international in character, with songs in English, French, Italian, and, in the case of Filmer, Latin. The John Wilson manuscript includes Latin odes. The use of techniques such as broken chords, strumming and raking with the index finger have their roots in the French *air de cour* tradition, while notating a simple harmony under a declamatory vocal line seems to be related to Italian song. While the presence of these techniques shows that English musicians were becoming familiar with new accompanimental styles used in French and Italian song, this does not mean they would necessarily have applied them in all circumstances to English song. This separation of national styles can be seen most clearly in Lambeth Palace 1041, which presents French songs with broken chords and Italian songs with full, often stationary chords, but reserves a more contrapuntal style for the English songs.
Notational Conventions

Some notational conventions in the manuscripts give an indication of the ordering of the elements of the songs and their relative importance in the mind of the scribe. The equal, natural spacing of the text suggests that it was probably copied first, with the vocal melody and accompaniment added later. In the case of Filmer A.14 and Egerton 2013, rhythmic notation in the accompaniment was omitted due to a lack of room between the text and the lower staff, perhaps indicating a flexible or, at least, subservient relationship of the rhythm of the lute part to the text and vocal line. In Bodleian Mus. Sch. f.575, the bar lines were omitted in three of the ten songs because the shape of the melodic line and the text would have provided all the information necessary for a good performance on the part of the accompanist. Perhaps when the scribe had relayed enough information to recall or archive the song, he/she stopped writing. The ordering of text, vocal melody, and accompaniment revealed by these seemingly incomplete manuscripts can help modern performers understand priority when approaching these songs.

The notational convention of nominal tuning can create confusion, but once clarified, it can simplify performance. Bodleian Mus. Sch. f.575, Bodleian Don.c.57, Filmer A.14, and, possibly, Lambeth Palace 1041 all contain some songs in nominal A tuning in which the vocal part is written one tone above the sounding key of the lute part. Players simply need to know that multiple instruments in different keys are not indicated, rather that the vocalist would transpose to match the pitch of the accompaniment instrument.

Texture, Range, and Disposition of the Accompaniment

In some regards, these issues are related to the tuning and construction of the lutes, whether 10-course lute in Renaissance tuning, 12-course lute in Renaissance tuning, or
theorbo with up to thirteen courses with re-entrant tuning of the first course. These types of instrument offer different possibilities of range and sonority. A comparison of the features of texture, range, and disposition will provide some guidelines for styles of accompaniment on the various lutes. The manuscripts for 10-course lute – Drexel 4175, Bodleian f.575, Bodleian Don. c.57, and Filmer A.14 – show some similarities in range and disposition, but display important variations in texture. The first three generally present chords on adjacent upper strings in a block texture (all notes struck at once), punctuated with simple counterpoint like parallel thirds and typical 4-3 suspensions at cadences. They vary in their use of the low bass courses, with Drexel 4175 and Bodleian f.575 only occasionally reaching below the seventh course, usually to sustain a harmony from a previous chord. Bodleian Don. c.57 is different from these two manuscripts in that it integrates the basses below the seventh course into the chordal texture. Passages of parallel thirds and cadences are also combined with lower basses.

Of the four 10-course lute manuscripts, Filmer A.14 takes the most significant departure from the characteristics described above. It uses style brisé chords in a texture similar to the French air de cour accompaniments. Bass notes, sometimes on the lowest courses, are either followed or preceded by chords on adjacent strings on the first through fourth courses. These chords could be played by raking up with the index finger, although there is no direct indication to do so, as there is in some of the later theorbo manuscripts. This rhythmic, broken chord style is alternated with a lighter texture, often in only two parts. In terms of the range, certain songs avoid use of the first course, a feature of some of the 12-course lute and theorbo accompaniments.
Of the four 10-course lute manuscripts, only Drexel 4175 has ornament signs. Four distinct signs appear in some frequency, and they are similar to those described by Robinson and Mace. Aside from a few markings in one song in Broxbourne 84.9, none of the other theorbo manuscripts contain signs for ornaments, which indicates either that accompaniments were generally less ornamented compared to the solo lute repertory, or that ornaments were left to the accompanist’s discretion.

Of the two 12-course lute accompaniments, the John Wilson manuscript shows a wealth of textural variations, while Egerton 2013 presents only block chord texture with the occasional addition of some low bass notes, much like the early 10-course accompaniments described above. There is infrequent use of the first course, and the instances of its use make it difficult to be sure about this course’s tuning – whether high as in Renaissance tuning, low as in re-entrant theorbo tuning, or possibly in octaves. The overall range used in the John Wilson manuscript favors the middle and low registers of the lute. Chords are often voiced very low, with bass notes on the lowest courses and other chord tones on the fifth through second courses. The texture of the accompaniment varies frequently, and it is generally marked by a contrapuntal complexity akin to that of the Golden Age lute song repertory and the organ parts in the fantasia suites of William Lawes and his contemporaries. The accompaniments contain at least one melodically significant voice, in addition to the bass, which can function in a variety of ways: 1) movement parallel to the melody, 2) movement parallel to the bass, 3) free counterpoint with some harmonically-conceived accents, and 4) pictorial descriptions of the text involving ascent or descent. The bass line can also become a new, independent voice, sometimes taking on a new melodic character, or establishing a pedal point below the melodic bass. In addition to counterpoint, Wilson uses textures already described above, such as block chords and
broken chords. Block chords appear in some declamatory sections and broken chords underscore the rhythm in songs with a strong triple time dance character. The John Wilson manuscript exhibits the widest range of textures and has the strongest emphasis on counterpoint.

The two manuscripts for theorbo with the first course probably at the lower octave, Lambeth Palace 1041 and Broxbourne 84.9, show some of the distinctive features associated with the construction of the theorbo: emphasis on the low basses and relatively little use of the first course. Whereas in Broxbourne 84.9, the tablature accompaniments clearly indicate the lowered first course in all but a few instances, Lambeth Palace 1041 is less consistent, suggesting that either two differently tuned instruments were used, or that there were octaves on the first course, as was suggested above as a possible solution for the John Wilson manuscript. A third possibility, and one that might apply to many of the manuscripts, is that there could have been a certain disregard for the rules of voice leading on the part of the scribe or composer concerning the tuning of the first course. The accompaniments work reasonably well, no matter what the tuning of the first course, with many voice leading inconsistencies being masked by the singer. This ambiguity in the manuscripts should inspire modern players to experiment on the instruments and tunings readily available to them, since seventeenth century musicians were apparently not too rigid about this subject.

While both of the theorbo manuscripts are international in character and include songs in English, French, and Italian, they treat the nationalities differently: Lambeth Palace 1041 reserves distinctive accompanimental textures for each language, while Broxbourne 84.9 has a much more uniform texture throughout. The English songs in Lambeth Palace 1041 use simple counterpoint of thirds and sixths against the bass and sometimes double
the voice; the Italian songs use slow moving or repeated chords to accompany in the
declamatory style; and the French songs use the *style brisé* seen in Filmer A.14 and in
parts of the John Wilson manuscript. Like the John Wilson manuscript, Lambeth Palace
1041 sometimes changes textures rapidly, alternating between block chords, simple
counterpoint, doubling the vocal melody, and a *tasto solo* bass line, sometimes all in the
course of one song. The more uniform texture of the accompaniment style in Broxbourne
84.9 emphasizes rich chords of four or more notes combined with deep basses. While
there are many instances of block chords, chords are often broken, sometimes with the
bass struck first followed by a full chord, possibly played by raking up with the index
finger. The most significant aspect of the texture in Broxbourne 84.9 is the care that is
taken to emphasize important words in the text. As previously noted, strong syllables often
receive the richest chords, while weaker syllables are treated with a lighter texture, and of
all the manuscripts Broxbourne 84.9 is the most sensitive to the issue of text accent.

**Harmonic Features**

While a full discussion of the harmonic language of the cavalier songs will be
presented in chapter three, it is worth noting some special harmonic features that stand out
as elements of style. Chapter three will describe the relatively simple harmonic language
for the cavalier songs, made up of 5/3 chords, 6/3 chords, occasional 7-6 suspensions, and
4-3 suspensions with some seventh chords at cadences. In addition to this straightforward
harmonic framework, the analysis of the intabulated accompaniments has revealed some
unusual passages that serve expressive purposes.
In the case of the John Wilson manuscript, suspensions of 4 resolving to 3 are often used as melodic appoggiaturas, as in example 2.12. This 4-3 movement (similar to his use of 7-6 suspensions), has the effect of drawing attention to an important moment in either the vocal melody or the text. Sometimes they are used within the context of root position chords, but they can appear as an ornament of a 6/3 chord, producing an harmonic appoggiatura of 6/4 to 6/3. This feature seems to appear only in the John Wilson manuscript. Another irregularity used for a special effect in Broxbourne 84.9 is the sudden shift from a major chord to its parallel minor to emphasize a change of mood. This manuscript also has one example of parallel motion between all voices connecting two chords a half step apart. Created by sliding a chord shape up the neck of the theorbo somewhat in the manner of a jazz guitarist, the effect is quite jarring and is used to accentuate a special word. These harmonic niceties are not a constant presence; they always serve a specific expressive purpose, and they should be used by the modern player with discretion.

While the manuscripts show a variety of ways of treating cadences at the ends of major sections, most use some of the same harmonic elements, such as a 4-3 suspension over the dominant chord followed by a falling seventh. The differences between cadences in the manuscripts are mostly rhythmic. Harmonically they generally rely on variations of 4-3 or 3-4-4-3 movement above the dominant chord. They range from simple half and quarter note motion in Bodleian f.575, to the elaborately broken chords, borrowed minor subdominants, and dominant pedal points in the John Wilson manuscript. Egerton 2013 has a cadential variation worth noting, an unresolved 4-3 cadence. The 4 is struck in the dominant chord and is sustained, unresolved, until to the final chord, allowing the
dissonance to ring on to create tension until the last possible moment, and giving the singer the freedom to make the resolution.

The Relationship of the Songs to Other Content and Features of the Manuscripts

Some manuscripts contain music other than songs with intabulated accompaniments. The presence of this other material can give an indication of the relative position of the intabulated songs within the scope of the scribe’s musical interests. Drexel 4175 includes several intabulated songs specifying viol accompaniment, suggesting that the scribe may have played both instruments and reinforcing the theory that the viol could accompany on its own as a chordal instrument. Bodleian 575 also indicates the close association of the lute with other instruments, containing eighty-five pieces for lyra viol and five pieces for keyboard, in addition to the ten intabulated lute songs. Bodleian Don.c.57 places the intabulated songs at the end of a book of songs with unfigured bass. Also at the end is a chord chart showing tablature solutions to chords suggested by mensural bass lines. The songs in mensural notation were probably copied first, and the intabulated songs and chord chart could have served as examples for creating accompaniments. This is a reminder that the art of continuo accompaniment was still new in early seventeenth-century England and that players were making a transition from intabulated lute song to continuo.

As previously stated, the John Wilson manuscript is a very special case, copied as a presentation piece for his academic appointment to Oxford. It probably contains refined versions of his best work, and includes chordal studies, voluntaries for solo lute in a variety of keys, 188 songs with mensural bass accompaniment and thirty-eight intabulated songs. While Wilson was probably proficient in continuo accompaniment, he clearly valued the genre of intabulated song as an lutenist of the post-Elizabethan era. His
intabulated songs were in no way an amateur’s solution to the new continuo practice, but examples that he felt were worthy of notating and preserving. Egerton 2013, like the John Wilson manuscript, has a mixture of twenty-seven intabulated songs and forty-eight with the bass line in mensural notation, but the multiple corrections in the tablature show that the lutenist was struggling with the new continuo practice. The theorbo manuscripts, Lambeth Palace 1041 and Broxbourne 84.9, both show the hand of Charles Coleman and contain many intabulated songs; beyond that, Broxbourne 84.9 contains only a short *folia* for theorbo, while Lambeth Palace 1041 has an elaborate four-page table of chords and, added in a later hand, a group of songs with a bass line in pitch notation. The table of chords is very methodical, treating scales, standard progressions, bass movement by various intervals, and cadences. The table’s thorough construction and the high quality of the realized song accompaniments show that the manuscript was probably used by one of Coleman’s advanced students or another professional musician.

The intabulated song manuscripts are the logical place to begin for modern lute players as they work out their own accompaniments for the cavalier songs, yet of the many songs from this period in manuscript and print, only a very small percentage have intabulated lute parts; most have only an unfigured mensural bass line. While it is to some extent a leap of faith to assume that the stylistic features contained in the specimen pieces outlined above can always be applied to this vast repertory, there is at least proof that some standard styles of accompaniment existed and that some were valued enough to be written down. The stylistic variations that appear in the manuscripts provide the modern lutenist with a broad vocabulary for experimentation. At the same time, some limits and guidance can be gleaned when instrumentation, tuning, experience of the scribe/composer, and the influence of competing national styles are taken into account.
Chapter III

The English Continuo Writings by Matthew Locke and Thomas Mace and their Application to the English Cavalier Songs 1630-1670

This chapter will examine the two seventeenth-century publications dealing with English continuo practice that have direct application to the English songs written from 1630 to 1670, Matthew Locke’s *Melothesia* and Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument*. They will be discussed in light of several issues: 1) their overall contents and scope, 2) the harmonic language they employ, and 3) any indications for accompaniment style that can be applied to lute and theorbo. The ensuing discussion of the findings will yield some helpful information that can be applied when trying to create lute accompaniments from the unfigured bass lines found in most of the cavalier songs.

*Melothesia* by Matthew Locke, 1673

Matthew Locke (1621-77) began his musical life as a chorister under Edward Gibbons at Exeter Cathedral and then traveled to the Netherlands in the 1640s, returning to England by 1651. He collaborated with Christopher Gibbons on the mask *Cupid and Death*, wrote music for the theater, and became royal composer-in-ordinary and composer for wind and violin music after the Restoration in 1660. Though he was closest in musical style to his contemporaries Henry Lawes, John Wilson, and Christopher Simpson, he also moved in the circle of the young Henry Purcell and may have had a mentoring influence on him. Locke represented a musical style that was outmoded by the 1670s as influences from the Continent were being felt at the English court. He was among musicians such as William Child, Charles Coleman, John Wilson, and Henry Lawes, who were trained at
the Chapel Royal during to reign of Charles I and then returned after the Commonwealth to serve under Charles II. Locke disliked the new Italian and French music that was in vogue at court, and he wrote in the preface to his *Little Consort of Three Parts*:

... those Montebanks of wit, who think it necessary to disparage all they meet with of their owne Countree-news, because there have been and are some excellent things done by Strangers, I shall make bold to tell them (and I hope my known experience in this Science will inforce them to confess me a competent Judge) that I never yet saw any Forain Instrumental Composition (a few French Corants excepted) worthy an English mans transcribing.¹

Given that Locke was active during the heyday of the cavalier song composers, and given that he rebelled against the new continental influences at court under the reign of Charles II, his work may serve well as a model for continuo practices of the early and middle parts of the century, rather than the practices of the 1670s when this work was actually published.

**Contents of *Melothesia***

The full title of Locke’’s work, *Melothesia, or certain general rules for playing upon a continued-bass, with a choice collection of lessons for the harpsichord and organ of all sorts: never before published*, indicates a strong preference for keyboard. Most of the realized exercises fit the keyboard much better than the lute, but Locke clearly intends the work to apply to non-keyboard instruments as well, saying in the introduction, “And though the Rules for Playing on a *Continued Bass* are here particularly applying to the *Harpsichord* and *Organ*, as being of most use; yet they equally fit the *Theorbo, Arch-*

Lute, Harp, or any other Instrument capable of performing a Duplicity of Parts; and consequently prove of general Advantage.”

The publication date of this work coincides roughly with the time when keyboard instruments were beginning to compete with lute-family instruments as a choice for song accompaniment. Melothesia would have sold well, since accompanying from a bass, a practice common on the lute from the 1620s, would have been relatively new to many keyboardists.

It is important to note that in his preface on page 9, Locke writes of plans to present a second, more complete volume, to include examples of all the instrumental and vocal music in vogue, along with a discourse. He never accomplished this, and one can only speculate on what this volume would have contained if it had been written. Perhaps it would have introduced the student reader to a more advanced harmonic language and addressed points of continuo style in significant ways. Although the first part of Melothesia does not address these subjects in much detail, it cannot be assumed that Locke and his circle were completely ignorant of the latest musical styles. The rules that Locke enumerates for continuo playing also exist in manuscript form in British Museum Add. MS 4910, folio 43, and they probably predate Melothesia. They might have been included in the publication as an afterthought in order to expand the rather slim collection of keyboard solos. This also supports the theory that they should not be relied upon as a complete or up-to-date account of continuo practice.

---

The treatise consists of ten rules, a conclusion, and musical examples that illustrate rules three, four, six, seven, eight, and ten. Finally, there is a musical example to illustrate “transition,” Locke’s term for modulation through common keys. The rules cover the following subjects:

1. The meaning of figures and avoidance of parallel fifths and octaves.
2. Instructions for harmonization with 6/3 chords on the third, sixth and seventh degree of the scale.
3. The various harmonizations of the penultimate (dominant) chord of cadences, illustrated below in example 3.1.
4. Instructions for treatment of the 7-6 half-cadence. The bass may descend by either a whole step or a half step, and Locke gives instructions for the disposition of the harmony in both cases. These two instances are both illustrated in example 3.1.
5. Instructions that one must “Omit a Third when a Fourth is figur’d; a Fifth, when a Sixth is figur’d; and a Sixth when a Seventh is figur’d.” This rule has the effect of shaping the voice leading at cadences and eliminating everything but the then-popular harmonic clichés.
6. The use of 5-6 in sequence for stepwise ascending basses and 6-5 or 7-6 for descending stepwise basses is outlined. Locke warns that a sharp ear is necessary to choose which of the two descending sequences is best for any given situation. The rule provides an easy method for avoiding parallel fifths. This is also illustrated in example 3.1.
7. “When a bass moves by Thirds, the common Descant is a Sixth on every other Note.” This implies that the strong beats are 5/3 chords followed by 6/3 chords (inversion of the same harmony) on the weak beats, and Locke illustrates this.

8. Fast notes in the bass can take one chord in the right hand for every four notes, or may be harmonized with thirds or tenths. “But for the Theorbo &c. it is sufficient to Play single Notes.” Locke’s written example shows only the solution for keyboard.

9. When the bass goes below the C below middle C it is better to leave an octave between bass and the next highest voice, otherwise the sound is unclear.

10. Using contrary motion between the right and left hand is the best way for a beginner to avoid parallel fifths and octaves. See example 1 for Locke’s illustration.

Locke’s conclusion follows, in which he describes “Examples of Transition,” also included in example 3.1 below. Practice of this example will provide the student with “All that’s teachable, as to the matter of Ayr”, or in other words, will help develop instincts for playing in the key.

Below are the musical examples that Locke provides for rules number three, four, six, seven, and ten, as well as the example of “transition” in the conclusion:
Example 3.1, Examples from “Precepts in the Rules for Playing on a Continued Base,”
Matthew Locke, Melothesia, pp.10-11:
In his second example of rule three, listed above, there is an obvious error in the highest voice of the fourth measure: the first note should be F and not D, and a corrected version of that has been provided below:

Example 3.2, Examples from “Precepts in the Rules for Playing on a Continued Base,” Matthew Locke, *Melothesia*, p.10, mm. 3-6:

![Musical notation](image)

**Harmonic Language in Melothesia**

The brevity and purpose of *Melothesia* probably did not allow Locke to present a complete overview of the harmonic language of the day. He presents simple rules intended to teach the basics of harmony and voice leading. Rule number five shows his harmonic limits, stating, “Omit a third when a fourth is figured; a fifth, when a sixth is figured; and a sixth when a seventh is figured.” This rule would preclude the use of 6/5/3 chords, 6/4/3 chords, and probably by implication all other four-note seventh chord harmonies such as 6/4/2 and 7/4/2. Whether Locke and his contemporaries used these more complex harmonies cannot be known, but it seems likely that by the 1670s they would have at least been aware of them. These four-note harmonies were already in use

---

by Italian composers such as Corelli and Carissimi, some of whose works were known in English court circles near the end of the seventeenth century.

Locke imparts a basic concept concerning voice leading in a statement near the end of his first rule, “But (for prevention of glutting or offending the ear), never ascend or descend with two fifths \textit{(sic)}, or two eights together between the treble and bass…” This was standard practice in the seventeenth century and confirms what can be observed in the intabulated lute accompaniments in chapter II - that parallel fifth and octaves were not allowed in the outer voices, except for a few dramatic examples of parallel chords seen in the Lambeth Palace manuscript. However Locke’s first rule leaves the door open for parallel fifths and octaves between all other pairs of voices, and the lute accompaniments in chapter II also exhibit this freedom. Locke consistently uses three voices to illustrate his rules, except for the example for rule eight, which shows slow chords in the right hand of the keyboard over quick bass notes in the left. The three-voice texture, observed often in the realized organ parts of English chamber music from the early and middle seventeenth century, is sufficient because it avoids inversions of seventh chords that would require the use of four voices. However, it is also likely that he limited his examples to three voices in order to simplify his instructions for student readers, so it cannot be assumed that he always restricted himself to three voices.

In his musical example dealing with “transition,” Locke confirms an interesting use of dissonance that was seen in the intabulated accompaniments in the John Wilson manuscript discussed in Chapter II. In some instances, movements from 4 to 3 and 7 to 6 above an unchanging bass are again used for melodic interest. While the example shows the standard usage of these progressions in most instances, measures three and six apply these types of suspensions without the typical bass movement. This results in a very
distinctive inner voice, with the contrapuntal interest typical in many of Wilson’s accompaniments. Below is a possible harmonization in three parts based on Locke’s figures. According to Locke’s instructions, parallel fifths have been avoided between the bass and treble but not necessarily between other voices, since he does not mention this as a restriction. The realization assumes that once an accidental has been introduced it is carried forward up to the next “barline” to support the changes of key.
Example 3.3, Examples of Transition, Matthew Locke, *Melodiesia*, p.11:

In summary, there is little in Locke’s use of harmony that is not already evident in the earliest of the intabulated song collections studied in chapter II. Locke is simply translating a past tradition of accompaniment for use by keyboard players who are unfamiliar with improvised realization. This short treatise is mostly concerned with the absolute basics of continuo realization: what the written figures imply, when to play 6/3
chords, how to voice a cadence, and how to play within the “ayr,” or key. As his intended audience was likely to be beginners in continuo, it would be hasty to assume that he did not use a broader pallette in his own improvised accompaniments; however, a review of his consort music does not uncover a harmonic language remarkably different from what is seen in *Melothesia*.

**Stylistic Considerations for Lute Accompaniment in *Melothesia***

As a method written specifically for keyboard, *Melothesia* provides much information about harmonic possibilities and limits, but it provides little information that would inform realizations, either on lute or keyboard. The spacings used in the examples for rules number four, six, and seven, would be awkward on the lute or theorbo; the parallel thirds in the bass clef do not lie easily under the hand and would probably sound weak and muddy. Locke does show his familiarity with the theorbo in rule eight, which describes how to realize a bass with running notes. His comment, “But for the *Theorbo &c.* it is sufficient to Play single Notes.” tells us something of what could be expected by the theorbo in music with a fast bass line, and describes a limitation that many modern players of the instrument can confirm.⁵

Some of Locke’s surviving manuscripts show that he was familiar with the lute instruments and their use in vocal and instrumental accompaniment. At the time when he was composing the bulk of his consort and theater music, the 12-course theorbo-lute and the English theorbo were the primary continuo instruments. His broken consorts contained in the Christ Church MS 774 have autographe parts for theorbo with figures included. The figures are sparse when the theorbo bass line is melodic and active, but

---

above longer bass notes, figures reflect the melodic movement in the instrumental parts. Mode changes (major and minor) are noted with a flat (b) or sharp (#). The harmonic language in these consorts is similar to what is presented in Melothesia. Directions in the score call for the use of three theorbos to balance the three bowed instruments. His masks, Cupid and Death and Psyche, and his incidental music for The Tempest would have used lute-family instruments to accompany the vocal music.6 Other than the few brief references to the theorbo, noted above, Melothesia gives us little advice pertaining to accompaniment style on the lute.

Musick’s Monument by Thomas Mace

Thomas Mace was a clerk at Cambridge University, a “Singing Man” at Trinity College, a composer, singer, lutenist, and violist da gamba. Mace lived his entire life in Cambridge, except during the Civil War. He returned to Cambridge by 1647, or possibly earlier, and left on only two documented occasions after that, both for visits to London. His first trip in 1676 was to arrange for the publication of Musick’s Monument with the publisher John Carr. He returned in 1690 to sell his instruments and music books due to advancing deafness.

Mace was conservative in his musical tastes and looked to Alphonso Ferrabosco, John Ward, William Lawes, among others, as the composers to be venerated and imitated.7 By his own account, he began lute studies in 1621, playing solo music in the flat French tuning. Although this tuning was out of favor well before the 1670s, he defends it at great length (pp. 91-202). Much of Musick’s Monument follows in this vein,

stridently defending the glories of the past against the innovations of the present. It is important to read beyond Mace’s bias and idiosyncratic style to reach the rich performance practices it documents. Of greatest value to the subject at hand is the description of a 13-course theorbo in Renaissance tuning for accompanying voices or playing in consorts, an instrument that, in one form or another, was the most common choice for accompaniment of the solo voice for much of the seventeenth century in England (pp. 207-209).

Contents of Musick’s Monument

Written between 1671 and 1675 and published in 1676, Musick’s Monument is the only English source that specifically addresses continuo playing on the theorbo. Its three parts cover a vast array of musical subjects. Part I concerns the improvements Mace felt were needed in church music, specifically in singing. Part II covers all aspects of the lute and theorbo and is rich in musical examples. It touches on construction, maintenance, stringing, playing technique, ornamentation, tuning variations, design innovations of the author’s own invention, and finally the theorbo and instructions for continuo playing. It is by far the longest part, with 191 pages. Part III concerns the viol and music in general and contains a promise by the author to provide more musical examples for the viol in a future publication.

The section covering the theorbo and continuo playing is twenty-three pages long. After a short description of the theorbo and its tuning, it presents a “Fancy-Prelude, or Voluntary, Sufficient Alone to make a good Hand ...” (pp. 210-216). It continues with fifteen pages of instructions for playing the theorbo, beginning with tablature realizations of notes and chords, operating on the assumption that the player may not be fluent in
reading bass clef. Next there are tablature realizations of a simple dominant-to-tonic cadence in G Major, giving twenty-one variations using all types of voicing, arpeggiation, division, and rhythmic variety.

Mace then introduces the numerical figures for continuo playing and describes their meaning. He gives some basic rules for voice leading and concludes with musical examples of tablature realizations of figured basses. The examples cover three types of bass movement: 1) full cadential progressions, 2) ascending and descending stepwise basses, and 3) sequences that move down by third and up by step. There is often a simple and a complex version for each type of bass movement.

**Harmonic Language in Musick's Monument**

Mace explains the basic rules of figured bass, covering them in a less systematic way than Locke did. He discusses major and minor chords, use of the diapasons in forming chords, how to discern the seven common keys, which bass notes are harmonized with a 6/3 chord, the meaning of the common figures, the avoidance of parallel fifths and octaves, and the harmonization of cadences. Then he moves on to concentrate on four harmonic progressions that are roughly equivalent to those Locke treated in his third, sixth, and seventh rules. They illustrate full cadences, stepwise ascending and descending bass movement, and bass movement down a third and up a step. The following examples show all of Mace’s harmonic progressions for comparison to Locke’s in example 3.1. The transcription that follows assumes that the top string of the theorbo is at the high octave, not in re-entrant (down an octave) tuning, although Mace is ambiguous on this point:
Example 3.4A, Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p. 227, Cadences in G major:

Transcription:

Mace precedes this cadential example with a plain cadence using only 4-3 above the dominant and a descending seventh into the final chord. In the more complex example he places the figures for the harmonic motion to be illustrated immediately before the corresponding letters on the tablature staff – an unusual, but very clear practice. His examples use the same harmonic motion suggested by Locke, with the addition of 4/2 passing harmonies (misprinted above by Mace as 4/7) on beat four of the sixth measure.
Example 3.4B, Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p. 228, Stepwise ascending and descending basses:

Transcription:

Mace’s figures for example 3.4B illustrate harmonizations for stepwise ascending and descending basses. Taken at their face value, the figures indicate 6/3 chords.
ascending, and a combination of root position, 6/3, and 7-6 suspensions when
descending. He does not offer the equivalent to Locke’s rule six, where the options given
are 5-6 for ascending, and 6-5 or 7-6 for descending.

A closer look reveals that Mace’s figures above the bass notes in example 3.4B may
not fully describe the harmonic movement in his realization. While he writes 6 above
many of the ascending basses, his delayed placement of the chord one beat after the bass
note often implies a suspension of one voice from the previous chord. While Mace’s
tablature realization often works against this – the suspended voice is often not actually
sustained by the player – one must wonder if this breaking of chords was meant to imply
the harmonic tension of a suspension. If this proposition is accepted, the result is a
progression of 5-6, 5-6, and so on for an ascending bass line, just as described in Locke’s
rule six. The descending bass line receives a similar rhythmic breaking, resulting in the
occasional implication of a 7-6 harmony where only 6 is figured. Measure eight contains
a particularly interesting moment where the 6 from measure seven could be heard as a 7
as it rings on. Even though the 7 never resolves, the suggestion is enough to continue the
sequence in the listener’s ear. The transcription below attempts to clarify this implied
harmony with editorial figures in parentheses under the lute part, leaving Mace’s figures
under the bass line. This rhythmic breaking of chords, “breaking your parts,” is a stylistic
element in Mace’s realizations and will be treated further below, but it is mentioned here
for its harmonic implications.
Example 3.4C, Thomas Mace, p. 228, Realizations for stepwise ascending and descending basses, with the implied harmonies indicated in parentheses:

Mace’s final example (below) is approximately the equivalent of Locke’s rule seven, with basses moving by a third followed by a step in the opposite direction. While Locke gives examples of both bass movement down a third followed by up a step, and up a third followed by down a step, Mace gives only the first of these possibilities. The only difference in harmonic treatment is that, while Mace realizes the progression with some parallel 6/3 chords (measures one and two), Locke always places the 6/3 chord on the second, or weak beat of the measure. While this example is “broken” in the manner of example 3.4B above, the delayed chords generally do not have harmonic implications. They do become a harmonic element in measure five and are responsible for creating the 7-6 suspension that Mace figures in the bass line.
Example 3.4D, Thomas Mace, p. 229, Sequence descending a 3rd and rising a step:

Transcription:

It is not surprising that Mace’s harmonic language is similar to Locke’s, as the men were contemporaries and developed their musical tastes before the Civil War. Both expressed some dislike for foreign influences on English musical practices of the 1670s; they devalued the influence of French and Italian compositional trends while upholding the English traditions from the first half of the century. One of the great values of Mace’s work is that it shows a stylistic working out of the harmonic language described by Locke, as it would be realized on the theorbo, in particular clearly laying out the fine points that influence how harmonic progressions may be heard within the context of the idiomatic breaking of chords, as described above.
Stylistic Considerations for Lute Accompaniment in *Musick's Monument*

On pages 221 to 224 Mace gives twenty-one variations on the 4-3 cadence, some of which are quite elaborate and use a wider range of textures than those seen in examples 3.4A-D above:

The *next thing* I’le set you down, shall be to show you the way of *Amplifying* your *Play*, by *Breaking* your *Parts*, or *Stops*, in way of *Dividing-Play* upon *Cadences*, or *Closes*; which is one of the *most complete*, and *Commendable Performances* upon a *Theorbo* in *Playing* of a *Part* (p. 221).

This statement implies that some of these elaborate cadences may be intended not only for study, but for actual performance as well. Below are four examples from the twenty-one cadential variations:
Example 3.5, Thomas Mace, pp. 222-24, Examples from the twenty-one cadential variations:
Transcription:

Mace’s work is sometimes ambiguous about the tuning of the theorbo. He makes a point of describing the theorbo as using a re-entrant tuning of the top, and sometimes second string (p. 208). However most of his musical examples, including these variations, work best with the top string tuned at the higher octave, rather than in re-entrant tuning. That said, the first example, Thus Plain, is awkward. With the top string tuned high, the tablature produces parallel octaves between the soprano and bass that are quite noticeable.
to the ear. Perhaps this voicing, poor to our ears, passed as acceptable in Mace’s day; however, re-entrant tuning of the top string would sustain the note D in the top voice for all three chords – a more generally acceptable and typical voice leading. For the variations that follow, Mace sometimes labels them either “broken” or “division” in the first three sets of examples; thereafter the labels do not appear.

Variation three shows one of the typical simple broken styles used in many of the more elaborate cadence versions, with the bass of the chord sounding on strong beats in contrast to a syncopated melody in the treble. The pattern ends two beats before the final measure, where a short melodic fragment and some left-hand ornamentation is introduced, followed by a three-octave breaking of the last chord. This last chord shows a feature much used by Mace and very applicable to theorbo accompaniment: the six-note G chord on the second half of beat two could have been played by raking the index finger back from the first to the sixth course, the thumb having played the low G an eighth note beforehand. In part II of *Musick’s Monument* concerning the lute, Mace describes this “modern” raking technique for playing all full chords on the lute, comparing it to the old method of assigning a finger of the right hand to each string. He surely must have intended this technique to apply to the theorbo as well:

…. But the Fashionable way of Playing them, (now us’d) is *much more easie*; namely, only to hit the *Bass* with your *Thumb*, and *Rake* down all the other 3 *Letters*, with your *Fore-finger*, at the same time; and this is the *General way of Playing* all other Full, or Fuller Stops (p. 101).
Modern players who have tried this technique can attest to the outcome: a very full, ringing chord is produced. Mace probably intended this index finger raking to be used in all full chords, whether they are simultaneously struck, or broken from the bass, as above.

Variation five is in Mace’s division style which is characterized by a stepwise melody in the treble with only the bass for support. It has a sweeping virtuosic character, reaching up to the seventh fret, and then plunging into the low range. Variation twenty uses the broken style, with rapid arpeggios. The bass accompanies by dividing itself into half notes repeated at the octave. The style of variation twenty has the potential for being extremely full and resonant, since many strings on the instrument are put into play. Each note of the arpeggios is positioned on a different string which allows the notes to ring through each other, and the multiple octaves for the bass line which are restruck at double-time on different strings, produces even more sound since the strings all ring together. While in Mace’s twenty-one cadential variations there are many permutations to the ideas presented here, the basic concepts of broken chords, division, and left hand ornamentation have been summarized in these five examples.

Mace’s directions on page 227 imply that the student should apply the ideas in these variations to the fully figured cadential patterns shown above in example 3.3A.

The Former I have given you with a great deal of Variety; your self to do so by these (p. 227).

It is worth speculating on the practical application of these variations for accompaniment. Many are so soloistic and full of character that it is hard to imagine them as merely accompanimental material in their current form. It seems
more likely that they served as a vehicle for Mace’s virtuosity and that the student is expected to gain inspiration from them, and a general sense of what is possible on the theorbo.

Mace’s realizations of the simple progressions shown above in examples 3.4A, B, and D give his clearest examples of lute accompaniment as it is directly compared to an unfigured continuo bass line. The tablature realizations confirm some of the stylistic elements of the intabulated accompaniments for the songs studied in chapter II. As in the songs, there is a free use of octave transposition in the bass voice to take advantage of the low strings on the theorbo. Bass notes are sometimes restruck, either in their original octave or at a lower octave to sustain the sound and add rhythmic energy. Some of the songs showed a rhythmic dividing of chords with the bass note played on a strong beat, and the chord – or elements of the chord – following on weak beats; this is an important and pervasive part of Mace’s style, which will be treated subsequently.

Mace gives directions for “breaking your parts” for the sequences using 6 and 7-6 figures shown above in example 3.4B (pp. 228-29 in Musick’s Monument). For these ascending and descending stepwise basses, he offers the simple version shown earlier, in which a chord is played one beat after its bass note, followed by this more complex version:
Example 3.6, Thomas Mace, “Breaking your parts,” complex version, pp. 228-29:
This version incorporates a variety of techniques such as breaking the bass line into octaves in many different rhythmic patterns, often in the diapason range. This bass treatment is paired with rhythmic and melodic variations in the treble at the eighth note and sixteenth note level using: 1) very angular melodies in measures one and two, 2) short bursts of divisions alternating with arpeggios in measures four to eight, and 3) more continuous use of broken chords in a true style brisé from measure nine to the end. There
is one occurrence of a slur in measure three, a technique rarely used by Mace in the chapter on the theorbo.

Mace’s final example, shown above in 3.4D, demonstrates bass movement down a third and up a tone. He gives only a simple realization of this, breaking the half notes into quarter note rhythm, with the bass on the first quarter and the chord on the second. Note that he continues quarter note rhythm when the bass sustains a dotted half note in measure four by repeating the G one octave lower. When quarter note rhythms are introduced in the bass, he moves from quarter note to eighth note rhythm in the treble, with the bass on the first eighth, and the chord on the second, the principle perhaps being that the treble can go at twice the speed of the bass line to emphasize its accelerated motion. This characteristic alternation between thumb in the bass and chord with fingers was seen in many of the song manuscripts already studied in chapter II. It is a very natural movement for the hand and appears in one form or another in many hand-plucked instrumental idioms, both ancient and modern.

Mace ends his section on theorbo continuo with practical advice for which he offers no musical examples. He paraphrases Locke’s eighth rule by stating that it is only necessary to play chords on the first of every four or every two bass notes when the bass moves quickly. He adds, “...if you find it convenient, you may here and there easily clap along with them, 3rds, 5ths, or 6ths, as the descant requires, which will be sufficient and very complete (p. 229).” He does not mention the possibility of playing continuous thirds or sixths with the bass, a suggestion Locke made for keyboard realization in his version of that rule. Mace does not suggest the option of playing the bass _tasto solo_ as Locke does.
Mace’s final comment is roughly equivalent to Locke’s ninth rule governing voicing of chords when the bass descends below the bass clef. Both Mace and Locke agree that it is best to allow the spacing to widen between the bass and the chord above for reasons of sound clarity. Mace also points out that chords constructed in that way are easier to play on the theorbo (p. 230).

**Summary**

Although they led very different musical careers, it is clear that Locke and Mace were contemporaries of the cavalier songwriters and were familiar with their work. Locke would have worked with some of these composers at court both before and after the Civil War, and Mace refers to them by name as some of the most influential English musicians. Both Locke and Mace published their continuo writings in the 1670s, but refer to performance styles that were probably outmoded by the time they appeared.

Locke and Mace describe approximately the same harmonic language, a primarily diatonic system where every scale degree can be harmonized by 5/3 chords except the third, sixth, and seventh scale degrees, which would take 6/3 chords. The figure 7 is introduced only on the dominant chord at cadences, in 7-6 progressions, and sometimes as melodic appoggiaturas for ornamental, non-cadential purposes. With some minor discrepancies, they agree on the harmonization of ascending and descending stepwise basses, as well as basses that move by a third followed by a step in the opposite direction. Overall, their instructions agree on most voice leading issues and use chord shapes where the bass is spaced at a large interval below the other voices. Locke and Mace’s harmonic language is also identical to that of the intabulated songs studied in chapter II. Below is a summary of the harmonic language Locke and Mace describe.
Example 3.7, A summary of the harmonic language of Locke and Mace:

No parallel fifths or octaves between the bass and treble

Third, sixth, and seventh scale degrees receive a 6:3 chord

Cadences

Bass descending by half step

Basses ascending and descending by step
Mace has taken a further step by producing a true instruction manual for theorbo that translates much of the harmonic language that both writers agree upon into the stylistic idiom of the theorbo by giving examples taking into account the instrument’s many technical possibilities. While his realizations could be achieved in three-voice chords as Locke uses for instructional purposes, he employs from two to six voices in his realizations to capitalize on the natural resonance of the instrument, as do many of the intabulated accompaniments in chapter II. The summary examples below capture the
range of Mace’s style, including improvisations at cadences, details of the bass and treble, chords placed after basses, and the treatment of fast basses.

Example 3.8, Summary of elements of style in Mace:

Treatment at cadences:
Variations on the continuo bass using the diapasons:

Different treatments of the treble:

Chords placed after the bass:
Treatment of fast basses:

In summary, the continuo writings by Locke and Mace support the findings of Chapter II, the analysis of the intabulated song manuscripts. The harmonic language these writers describe is similar to that of the intabulated songs, with the exception of the pedal point writing seen in some of John Wilson’s works. While the elaborate division-style realizations illustrated by Mace are absent in the intabulated songs, many of the more formulaic aspects of his realizations, such as the cadential patterns, broken chords, and opportunities for raking full chords with the index finger, are present. His writings, supported by Locke’s, provide additional structure and inspiration for the song realizations to follow in Chapter IV.
Chapter IV

Examples of Cavalier Song Lute Realizations

This chapter presents three songs as musical examples to illustrate some of the accompanimental styles studied in the previous chapters. All three songs were taken from Select Ayres and Dialogues, published in 1659 by John Playford.¹ This collection is a good example of music that would have been easily accessible to amateur musicians and includes composers who were active throughout the entire period of the cavalier song’s popularity. Nicholas Lanier, Robert Johnson, and William Lawes flourished during the reign of Charles I (1625-49), whereas John Wilson, Charles Coleman, and Henry Lawes were most active from the interregnum (1649-60) into the reign of Charles II. The songs appear in print with the vocal melody and text scored with a mostly unfigured bass line below it, the most common notated form of the cavalier song. They were intended for accompaniment by theorbo-lute or bass viol, and the player was expected to improvise a realization from the bass line.

The three songs below are realized for three different instruments: in order, the 10-course lute in Renaissance tuning, the 12-course lute in Renaissance tuning, and the 13-course English Theorbo with the first course in re-entrant tuning. The instruments were chosen based on the lutes that are implied by the tablature realizations attributed to each composer in chapter II, but there is not a hard and fast rule for choice of instrument or tuning. It has already been noted that the many ambiguities in the tablature realizations and the statements and illustrations in Thomas Mace’s Musick’s Monument leave room for a variety of instruments and tuning configurations. It is also worth emphasizing that

¹ Select Ayres and Dialogues for One, Two, and Three Voyces, to the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol, (London: John Playford, 1659), pp. 5, 13, 29.
by the time of the publication of Select Ayres and Dialogues, the English theorbo would have been the primary instrument for accompaniment, even though the collection includes composers from an earlier period.

In the following examples, each song is presented in exactly the form of the published print with the first two treble and bass clef staves. Some spelling in the text has been regularized, but any original slur markings, possible note misprints, and partial figuring in the bass have been maintained. The tablature realization below these staves is my creation and includes one correction of the bass line.\(^2\) A transcription of this realization follows in the two treble and bass clef staves below it. The transcription includes any figures appearing in the original bass line, along with figures that show any additional harmony I have added. While I have tried to present many of the stylistic features illustrated earlier in this paper, I have concentrated on the more sophisticated efforts of John Wilson, Charles Coleman, and Thomas Mace, assuming that the simple student accompaniments warranted less attention. All of the realizations stay within the nearly diatonic harmonic language of the song manuscripts studied in chapter II and outlined by Matthew Locke and Thomas Mace in chapter III.

*A Forlorn Lovers Complaint: As I walk’d forth*

This song by Robert Johnson (c. 1583-1633) was composed at the beginning of the cavalier song period. Written in the style of a folksong with verses using the same repeated music, it is related stylistically to the late Golden Age lute songs of Thomas Campion and his contemporaries. It can also be categorized as a dance song because of its

\(^2\) In *Discontent* by John Wilson, the A natural in measure 15 of the bass line has been corrected to A flat in the realization to better fit the key.
even phrase structure and because it is strophic rather than through composed. The 10-course lute, still popular in Johnson’s day, was selected as the instrument for the realization.

The sources with tablature accompaniment that provide insight for realization on 10-course lute are NY Public Library Drexel MS 4175 (*Ann Twice, Her Book*); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Mus. Sch. f.575; and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Don. c.57. Drexel MS 4175 and Bodleian f.575 primarily employ a block chord texture throughout with occasional bass notes added down an octave to sustain the lute’s sound, and that is the basic texture used in the realization below. Bodleian c.56 makes more melodic use of the lower courses, illustrated below in measures two, three, and eighteen. The cadences in measures six, twelve, and eighteen all use a formula present in the aforementioned sources, suspension of 4 resolving to 3 over the dominant, followed by a descent to 7 just before resolution to the tonic chord. Bass notes are occasionally taken down an octave, but for the most part the bass line of the realization mirrors that of the original in *Choice Ayres and Dialogues*. The broken chords and interludes seen in the accompaniments in Yale University Filmer MS A.14 (c.1640-60) were not incorporated in this realization, even though it was probably also intended for 10-course lute. The date of Filmer makes it a better reference for later songs.

---


A Forlorn Lovers Complaint.

Robert Johnson
Bower, I espide standing fast by a
river side; and in't a Maiden I heard cry.
II.
Then round the meadow she did walk,
Catching each flower by the stalk;
Such flowers as in the meadow grew,
The Dead-man's Thumb, an Hurrab all blew.
And as she pull'd them, still cry'd she,
Alas! Alas! none e're lov'd like me.

III.
The Flowers of the sweetest sorts
She bound about with knotty Bents,
And as she bound them up in Bands
She wept, she sigh'd and wrung her hands,
Alas! Alas! Alas! cry'd she,
Alas! none was e're lov'd like me.

IV.
When she had filled her Apron full
Of such green things as she could cull,
The green leaves serv'd her for a Bed,
The flowers were the Pillow for her head:
Then down she laid, ne'r more did speak,
Alas! Alas! with Love her heart did break.
Discontent: I prethee turn that face away

This song by John Wilson (1595-1673) is best described as *arioso*, with a tuneful melody supported by a rhythmic bass, but lacking the regular phrase structure of a strophic dance song. While freer in conception than a dance song, its bass line does not provide the elasticity characterizing a song in the recitative style. The 12-course lute was selected as the instrument for the realization since that instrument was probably used by John Wilson in Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1; however, as was pointed out in chapter II, the tuning of the first course in the high octave of Renaissance pattern, the lower octave as for the English theorbo, or a course of two strings with both octaves, are all possibilities, because the tablature makes inconsistent use of this first course.

Two manuscripts with intabulated accompaniments for 12-course lute were studied in chapter II, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. b.1 (John Wilson manuscript) and London, British Library MS Egerton 2013. Egerton 2013 uses a style of block chord realization similar to that of the 10-course song manuscripts mentioned earlier, so for purposes of illustration, the John Wilson manuscript is the primary source for the realization provided below.

The intabulated accompaniments in the John Wilson manuscript are extremely sophisticated and varied. They cover a wide range on the instrument, with some very rich chord shapes in the extreme low range, contrasting with lighter two-voice textures. Complex, carefully worked out counterpoint is present, as well as simple block chords. In general, the texture of the lute realization favors the low range, with the bass usually sounding an octave below the mensural bass line provided by Wilson. While bass notes of a whole note or greater duration are sometimes realized simply with long chords, there

are many instances of a rhythmic division with counterpoint, broken chords, or octaves restruck in the bass. In addition to octave transposition, Wilson also treats the original bass in myriad ways: 1) adding shorter values to fill intervalllic leaps (measures three, twenty-two), 2) recomposing the bass, 3) or using the mensural bass as an upper voice and adding a new voice below. His inner voices sometimes run in parallel intervals to the vocal melody (measure twenty-four), and in other places mirror the bass (measure twenty-three). Finally, Wilson has a personal cliché of rhythmically spreading final chords by placing the bass note on the first beat of the measure in a low octave and raking up with the index finger the rest of the chord on the second quarter note of the measure (measure twenty-six).
Example 4.2, *Discontent*, John Wilson, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, p.29:

Discontent.

I pray thee turn that Face a-way, whose splendor but bright the day;

sad Eyes like mine, and wounded Hearts, shun the bright rays which Beauty
unwelcome is the Sun that pries into those shades where sorrow lies: go shine on happy things, to me, that blessing is a misery
Venus Lamenting Her Lost Adonis: *Wake my Adonis*

This song by Charles Coleman is in recitative style and is the most substantial work in the *Select Ayres and Dialogues* collection. The gravity and emotional range of the text are well suited to the recitative style, which in this song is characterized by a wide vocal range, vocal coloratura, and expressive, dissonant intervals, all supported by a relatively slow moving bass. The song has more original figures than any other in the collection. These figures indicate expressive contrapuntal coloring (measures two, twenty), unusual dissonance at cadences (measures sixteen, twenty-eight, twenty-nine), and an alto voice set note-for-note in parallel thirds against the vocal melody after the manner of John Wilson (measures forty-three to forty-six).\(^5\)

Charles Coleman (1605-64) was active while the English theorbo was the most popular instrument for vocal accompaniment. The intabulated accompaniments with his autograph in Lambeth Palace Library Ms 1041 (*Lady Ann Blount Song Book*) and Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms Broxbourne 84.9 imply the use of a 13-course theorbo with the first course tuned at the lower octave, and that tuning is used for the realization provided below. The intabulated songs in Lambeth Palace and Broxbourne and some of the instructions given by Thomas Mace in *Musick’s Monument*, as well as several of the characteristics seen in the John Wilson manuscript, have formed the basis for the style of my realization.

Like the John Wilson manuscript, the Lambeth Palace and Broxbourne Mss. are very sophisticated collections written out by professional musicians. Both incorporate a wide variety of techniques, many of which are geared specifically to the tonal characteristics of the theorbo. Unlike the John Wilson manuscript or any other source in this study, they

---

\(^5\) This passage is treated in detail on page 27 of chapter II. *Wake my Adonis* also appears on page 26 of *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialgues, In Three Bookes*, published in 1653 by John Playford.
place textual accentuation as the first consideration, using the resonance of the instrument to illustrate the relative weight of the words. To this end, my accompaniment below has, for the most part, placed the fullest chords on the words that would receive the greatest accent in a dramatic reading (for example, under the words “Wake my Adonis, do not die” in measures one to four). I have tried to be sensitive to this consideration throughout the realization.

The resonant characteristics of the theorbo allow a two-part texture to be sufficient, especially when the bass moves by step (measures four, eight). The diapasons can even be played *tasto solo* for special effect (measures thirty-one, thirty-two). At the other dynamic extreme, the theorbo can produce its greatest volume by playing the bass on a diapason and simultaneously raking up strongly with the index finger over five or more courses. This effect is used below in measures twenty-one to twenty-three that depict “thundring Jove.” A more gentle and rhythmic raking with the index finger is seen in the final section of the song. In this dance-like section in 3/2 time, the diapason on beat one is followed by light upstrokes with the index finger on chords placed on beats two and three. This technique, explored in detail in chapter II, is borrowed from the French school of the *air de cour*.

Lambeth Place MS 1041 and Broxbourne use some very specific techniques for coloring important moments in the text, some of which have been incorporated into the realization below. The occasional doubling of the vocal melody by the highest voice of the accompaniment can underscore significant words if used sparingly (measures thirty-five and thirty-six) and was possibly employed to give the singer his pitch. In the same vein, stepwise parallel motion that emphasizes multiple parallel fifths and octaves can produce a jarring effect useful for strong emotions (measure fifty-four, “grieve”). Finally,
Thomas Mace’s instructions for realizing a descending stepwise bass apply well to the long descending stepwise bass line in measures thirty-eight to forty-one. On each half note of the descending bass, the theorbo plays the bass note on beat one followed by a light chord on beat two, ending the sequence with a broken chord flourish in eighth notes. This rhythmic treatment of the descending passage provides it with its own special character, making it stand out from the surrounding phrases.
Example 4.3, *Venus lamenting her lost Adonis*, Charles Coleman, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, pp. 4-5:

Venus lamenting her lost Adonis.

Charles Coleman
smiles? Alas, in vain I call, one death has snatched them all; yet death’s not

deadly in that face, death in those looks it self hath grace;
'twas this, 'twas this I fear'd, when thy pale ghost appear'd, this I prop-\nsage'd, when

thun-dering, love tore the best. Mistletoe in my grove, when my sick

# 6 #6 # 4 4 # #
Rose buds lost their smell, and from my temples untouch fell, and 'twas for some such thing, my dove first hung her wing. Whither art thou my deity gone?
Ve - nus in Ve - nus there is none: in vain a god - ess now

am I, only to grieve and not to die: but I will love my grief, make
44 tears my tears relief, and sorrow shall to me a new Adonis be:

44 4 5 6 7 8 7 6 5 7 6 4 5 4 4 3 4 5 4 4 #

48 And this the fates shall not rob me of whilst I a goddess
am to grieve and not to die.
While these three song realizations have incorporated many of the stylistic characteristics that could have been used by lutenists in accompanying the cavalier songs, further research will be necessary to exhaust the almost endless combinations of possibilities suggested by the intabulated accompaniments in chapter II. More research must address the very important question of what other styles of accompaniment might have existed beyond those included in the eight surviving intabulated song manuscripts. Apart from a few very specific and possibly highly individualistic instructions in Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument*, the English writings on continuo practice do not shed much light on lute continuo style. The extreme popularity of continuo practice in the seventeenth century has worked against its own documentation, since the goal was to create a spontaneous improvised accompaniment, and not to intabulate and fossilize a finished product. While a set of instructions can tell a player which notes to play to realize an accompaniment, the elements of style were, as they are now, passed down from master to student.

Until fairly recently, the cavalier song repertory has been neglected and even underrated by some scholars and performers. It has been described as a period of transition toward Henry Purcell’s accomplishments, its own development arrested by the political turmoil of English politics. More likely, one reason that the cavalier songs are only partially understood is because important elements of their lute accompaniment have not been explored. It is hoped that this paper will help fuel the current interest in this rich but neglected repertory, and inspire singers and accompanists to devote their efforts to its performance.

*Gus Denhard, Seattle, WA, April. 2006*
Example 4.4, Facsimile title page and songs from John Playford, 
*Select Ayres and Dialogues*:

```
SELECT
AYRES
AND
DIALOGUES
For One, Two, and Three Voyces;
TO THE
THEORBO-LUTE or BASSE-VIOL.

Composed by
Henry Lawes
William Lawes
Nicholas Lanacre
William Webb

And other Excellent Masters of Musick.

LONDON,
Printed by W. Godbid for John Playford, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Inner Temple, near the Church door. 1659.
```
A Forsaken Lover's Complaint.

I. I walk'd forth one Summers day, to view the Meadows green and gay,

A pleasant Bower I espied standing tall by a river side; and in't a Maid I heard cry,

Alas! Alas! there's none e'er lov'd as I.

II. Then round the meadow did she walk,

Catching each flower by the stalk;

Such flowers as in the meadow grew,

The Dead-man's Thumb, an Hexab all blew,

And as she pulled them, still cry'd she,

Alas! Alas! none e'er lov'd like me.

III. The Flowers of the sweetest sense

She bound about with knotty Bells,

And as she bound them up in Bells

She wept, she sigh'd and wrung her hands,

Alas! Alas! Alas! cry'd she,

Alas! none was e'er lov'd like me.

IV. When she had fill'd her Apron full

Of such green things as she could call,

The green leaves for'd her for a Bed

The Flowers were the Pillow for her head:

Then down she laid, no's more did speak;

Alas! Alas! with Love her heart did break.
Discontent:

Pretence turn that face away, whose splendor but blemishes the day;

Sad eyes like mine, and wounded hearts, flint the bright rays which beauty bears; 

Welcome is the Sun that pierces those shades where sorrow lies: Go shine on happy things,

To me, that blessing is a misfortune; whom thy fierce Sun not warms but burns, like that the

Sooty Indian turns: I'll serve the night, and there confound; with thee less fair or else more kind.

Dr. John Wilson,
Venus lamenting her lost Adonis.

Ah my Adon, do not die, one life's enough for thee and I, where are thy

V

Loos'd by tides thy form by storms thy soul, in vain I call, one death hath thousands

V

All, yet death's not deadly in their eyes death is god's, and mine with them

V

Farewell, when the pine-wood appeared, this I profest, when then—dying Jove

V

core the bell Music in my grove, when my sick rose bade lost their flowers from my temples announce

V

fell and tears for so fair a thing, my Dove fell hung her wing, When didst arise my Daisy gone?
Venus lamenting her lost Adonis, p. 2

[5]

From in Fenn there is none: in vain a goddess now am I, only to grieve and not to die: but I will love my grief: make tears my tears relief, and sorrow shall end in a new Adonis: And this the last short to me of what? A goddess am to grieve and not to die.

Dr. Celman.
Selected Bibliography

Printed English vocal music with lute accompaniment, 1613-1673:

King, William, *Poems of Mr. Cowley, and others*, 1668.
Lawes, Henry, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, 1669.
Playford, John, *Choice Songs and Ayres*, 1673-79.
Playford, John, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, 1659.
Playford, John, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, 1663.
Playford, John, *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues*, 1652.
Playford, John, *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653.
Wilson, John, *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads*, 1659.
Wilson, John, *Psalterium Carolinum*, 1657.
Manuscripts of cavalier songs with bass lines suitable for lute accompaniment:

Library abbreviations:

GB-Eu Edinburgh, University Library
GB-Lbl London, British Library
GB-Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB-Och Oxford, Christ Church Library
US-NH New Haven, Yale University, School of Music Library
US-NYp New York, Public Library at Lincoln Center

GB-Lbl, Egerton 2917, ca. 1620.
GB-Ob, Tenbury 1018, ca. 1620.
GB-Ob, Tenbury 1019, ca. 1620.
GB-Och, 439, ca. 1620.
US-NYp, Drexel 4175, Anne Twice’s songbook, ca. 1620-30.
GB-Och, 87, Mrs. Elizabeth Davenant’s songbook, ca. 1624.
GB-Ob, Don.c.57, 1625-40.
GB-Lbl, Add. 53723, Henry Lawes’s autograph songbook, ca. 1625-50.
GB-Lbl, Add. 29481, ca.1630.
GB-Lbl, Egerton 2013, ca. 1630.
GB-Lbl, Add. 31432, William Lawes’s autograph songbook, ca. 1639-41.

GB-Lbl, Add. 11608, Songs of John Hilton, ca. 1641-56.


GB-Ob, Mus. b.1, John Wilson’s songbook, ca. 1656.

US-NYp, Drexel 4257, John Gamble’s songbook, ca. 1659.

GB-Eu, Dc.I.69, Songs in the hand of Edward Lowe, after 1660.

**Manuscripts of cavalier songs with intabulated lute accompaniments:**


GB-Ob, Mus. Sch..f.575, ca.1630.

GB-Lbl, Egerton 2013, ca. 1630.

GB-Ob, Ms. Don.c.57, ca. 1625-40.

US-NH, Filmer MS A.14, 1640-60.

Lambeth Palace Library MS 1041, Lady Ann Blount songbook, ca.1640.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. b.1, John Wilson’s Songbook, 1656.

GB-Ob, MS Broxbourne 84.9, 1650-63.
Other musical sources:


Caccini, Guilio, *Le nuove musiche*, (Venice, 1602).


Campion, Thomas, *The Description of a Maske, presented before the Kinges Majestie*…, (London, 1607).


*Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Age*, ed. Andrew Sabol, (Providence, RI., 1978).


Matteis, Nicola, The False Consonances of Musick, (London, 1682); modern edn. by James Tyler, (Monaco, 1980).


Vallet, Nicholas, Secretum Musarum, (premier livre 1615, second livre 1616, Amsterdam).


Books, Theses, and Articles:

Abbreviations:

EM Early Music
FoMRHI Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Musical Instruments
GSJ Galpin Society Journal
JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society
JLSA Journal of the Lute Society of America
LSJ Lute Society Journal, The Lute after 1982
MB Musica Britannica
M&L Music and Letters
MD Musica Disciplina


North, Nigel, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute, and Theorbo*, (Bloomington, IN, 1987).


Spink, Ian, English Song: Dowland to Purcell, (London, 1974).

Spink, Ian, “Playford’s ‘Directions for Singing After the Italian Manner’”, MMR (1959).


